A LIFE OF JOHN COSIN

BISHOP OF DURHAM, 1660–1672

BY P. H. OSMOND

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A LIFE OF JOHN COSIN

By the same Author

THE

HOPE OF OUR FATHERS

AN ANTHOLOGY OF ANGLICAN DEVOTION IN PROSE AND VERSE

Compiled and Edited by the Rev.
PERCY H. OSMOND, M.A.

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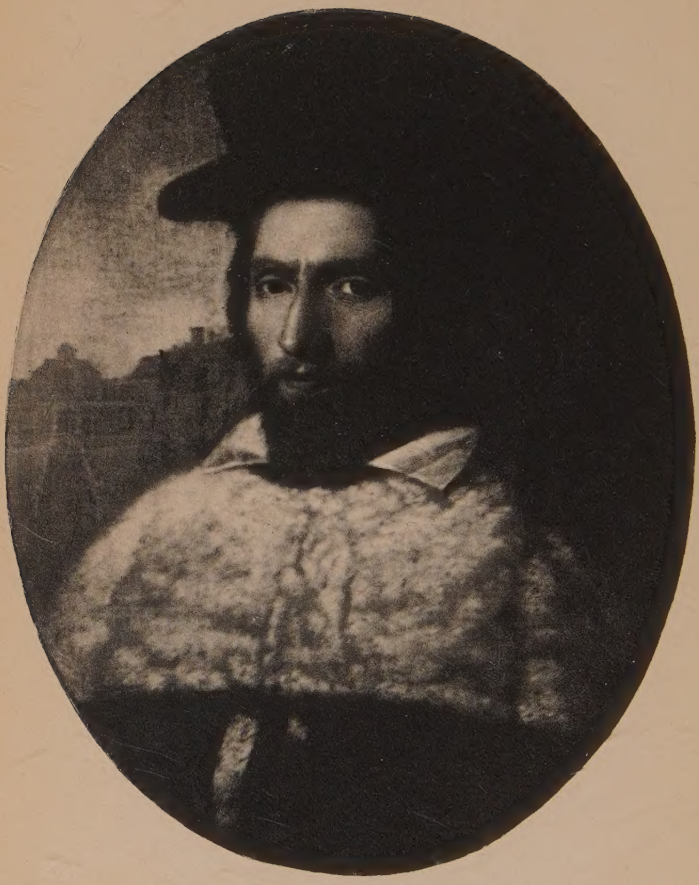

John Cosin.

(From the portrait at Auckland Castle).

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PERCY H. OSMOND, M.A.

COMPILER OF "THE HOPE OF OUR FATHERS"

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INTRODUCTION

" I dare neither think, nor assure the reader, that I have committed no mistakes in this relation . . . ; but I am sure there is none that are either wilful or very material. I confess it was worthy of the employment of some person of more learning and greater abilities than I can pretend to ; and I have not a little wondered that none have yet been so grateful to him and to posterity, as to undertake it."

IZAAK WALTON.

THE period covered by the life of Cosin (1595–1672) was one the importance of which cannot be exaggerated. His was the age and the generation which completed the Reformation of the English Church—the period which saw the rise, the fall, and the subsequent triumph of what, for the want of a better name, we must call Anglicanism. The facts and the features of the period are too familiar to allow of any detailed discussion here ; but, in order that the life of Cosin may be related to the history of his time, it is necessary to pass rapidly over the well-worn ground.

When Cosin was born, Puritanism and Calvinism seemed likely to gain the ascendancy in the Church of England. Archbishop Grindal had manifestly sympathised with the Puritans ; his successor, Whitgift, was strong—too strong,

perhaps—as a disciplinarian, but weak as a theologian, with a decided leaning to Calvinism; while the policy of Bancroft, who succeeded to the Primacy in 1604, set in motion the wave of unpopularity which later, for a time, overwhelmed the Church. Perhaps, after all,[1] Clarendon was right in believing that "if he had been succeeded by Bishop Andrewes, Bishop Overall, or any man who understood and loved the Church, that infection would easily have been kept out which could not afterwards be so easily expelled." Andrewes almost certainly would not have committed the Anglican party to the union between Episcopacy and the theory of the Divine Right of the Crown, which was initiated by Bancroft, and which led to the temporary ruin of both Episcopacy and the Crown. As it was, the appointment of Abbott, who resembled Bancroft neither in his policy nor in his views, gave a fresh stimulus to Puritanism, which now found itself represented on the archiepiscopal throne.

It was Laud and his supporters who began the really successful attack on Calvinism and the Puritan party, and it is no exaggeration to say that, controversially, they were winning along the whole line of attack, not only as against the Puritans, but also as against the Papal party; for it must not be forgotten that the champions of Anglicanism had to face a two-fold opposition. It was their aim "to stand in the gapp against Puritanism and Popery, the

[1] In spite of Dr. Gardiner's view; see *Hist. of England*, ii. 120.

Scilla and Charybdis of antient piety"—so Richard Mountague wrote to Cosin in the year 1624.

Unfortunately, the ecclesiastical struggle became intermingled with the political struggle. And Puritanism, which ecclesiastically seemed destined to fail, retrieved its position by reason of its political wisdom; while Anglicanism fell with a theory of monarchy which had no real connection with its spiritual aims.

But the Puritan triumph was shortlived; and, with the inevitable reaction, the Anglican party rose to an assured ascendancy. The victory was complete, and the victors, to some extent perhaps, yielded to the temptation to exercise their regained power arbitrarily. But in passing judgment on the Churchmen of the Restoration period it is only fair to bear in mind the bitter provocation which they had experienced, the hopeless obstinacy of the Nonconformists, the contemporary feeling on both sides about toleration, and the apparently urgent need for uniformity.[1]

With this Anglican party, from the very beginning of his career, Cosin ranged himself, sharing its faults and its virtues; with this party he basked for a time in the sunshine of royal favour; with this party he suffered persecution and ruin at home, and exile and poverty abroad; and with this party he rose again to power and leading influence.

[1] Cf. Smith, *Vita Johannis Cosini*, p. 32. "Non aliter aut regni tranquillitas, aut Ecclesiæ salus salva & integra servari poterat."

Although surpassed by some of his contemporaries both as a scholar and as a saint, yet in his combination of mental alertness, sound learning, and sincere piety, he held a very high place among the Caroline divines; and from the prominent part which he took in the controversies of his age, in the reform of discipline, and, above all, in the revision of our Prayer Book, Cosin may certainly rank as one of the most important ecclesiastics of the English Church; and this book has been written in the hope that his fame and merits may reach a wider circle than those who are likely to study and assimilate his *Works* (published in the Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology, Oxford, 1843–55) and his *Correspondence* (most admirably edited for the Surtees Society by the late Canon Ornsby, 1869–72), or to gain access to the two brief contemporary "Lives"[1] and to the State Papers and other documents which throw light on the fall and restoration of the Church in Stuart days.

[1] "The dead man's real speech, a funeral sermon . . . together with a brief of the life . . . of the said late Lord Bishop of Durham; published (upon earnest request) by Isaac Basire, D.D. (Lond. 1673) [who had known Cosin for forty years, his eldest son marrying Cosin's daughter]." "Vita reverendissimi et eruditissimi viri Joannis Cosini," inserted in *Vitæ quorundam eruditissimorum virorum* (Lond. 1707), by Thomas Smith [who claims to have gleaned his information from those who knew Cosin well and from original MSS.].

A LIFE OF JOHN COSIN

CHAPTER I

LEARNING TO WIELD HIS WEAPONS

"It plainly proveth the Properness of their parts and Tallness of their industry, who thereby and by God's blessing thereon, reached so high preferment, though disadvantaged by standing on so low ground of their extraction."—FULLER.

LITTLE is known of the early years of Cosin's life; but the facts of prime importance stand out clearly and have been, for the most part, supplied by his own pen. In a curious autobiographical fragment he has jotted down the following disjointed notes:

"Born in Norwich, 30th November, 1595, eldest son of his parents. At his being thirteen years of age, his father died and left him several houses, which he gave up to his mother, reserving only £20 yearly for his maintenance at Cambridge. At fourteen years of age sent to Cambridge, 1610, and admitted scholar in Gonvil and Caius College, 25 March, 1610. Eighteen years old, in the year 1614, Bachelor of Arts. About two years after invited by Bishop Andrewes (then of Ely) and Bishop Overall (Bishop of Lichfield) to come to London, to take care of

their libraries. By the persuasion of his tutor he chose to live with Bishop Overall, then Bishop of Lichfield, who gave him not only the keeping of his library, but made him his secretary and committed to him the care of his episcopal seal. . . . Four scholarships in Caius College appropriated to the city of Norwich, into one of which he was chosen. . . ."

This bald statement will bear considerable amplification. His father, Giles Cosin, whose early death is noted above, seems to have been originally of Foxearth, in South Suffolk, and Surtees [1] connects him with the family of Cosin of Seven Burnhams in the county of Norfolk. He was a tradesman of Norwich, then one of the leading cities in the kingdom. It does not necessarily follow that he was of humble origin. The younger sons of the gentry were, in those days, often put into apprenticeship in towns; and this seems to have taken place with special frequency at Norwich. His early biographers, however, make no claim for gentle birth for Cosin's father, on whose virtue rather they insist: "Melioris notæ civem, et ob lautiorem fortunam, egregiam probitatem, candidosque mores apud suos valde celebrem." [2]

More can be said for the gentility of Cosin's mother, Elizabeth, who lived to see her son fall from the high estate to which he was rapidly climbing. She was a Remington of Remington Castle, "an ancient and noble family"; and it

[1] *Hist. Durham*, cvi. But he does not give his authority.
[2] Smith, p. 1.

is interesting to find that Nathaniel Remington, an alderman of Norwich at this period, presented the altar-plate to the Church of St. Andrew, where Cosin was baptized and his mother buried.

Of the other members of the family, we can trace six sisters, all of whom married tradesmen and whose children were duly remembered in Cosin's will, and a brother, Nathaniel, a weaver of Norwich, whose widow and daughter also received legacies from their prosperous relation.

Everything, then, suggests that the future prelate was of somewhat humble origin, and, in after-days, his implacable enemy Peter Smart was able to throw this in his teeth in thoroughly characteristic language, describing himself as "a man who had been public reader in the University of Oxford many years before John Cosin could tell how to prick a louse [1] in his father's shop at Norwich." Cosin seems, however, to have been able to value birth at its true worth: "He that boasts of his birth," he says in one of his sermons, "brags of that which is none of his own, yet a blessing of God it is when it is more eminent than others"; and in his will the circumstance for which he feels called upon to render thanks to God is "that He hath vouchsafed me to be born in this life of faithful and virtuous parents." On the piety of his parents his biographers lay special stress:

[1] This seems to be still in the North a popular gibe in controversy with any one connected with the cloth-trade. Cf. Burns's *Answer to a Poetical Epistle from a Tailor*:

"Gae mind your seam, ye prick-the-louse,
And jag-the-flae!"

"Both his parents were of the household of faith, both born and bred in the true, ancient, Apostolick and Catholick Religion of the Church of England, which this their son did so early imbibe that he lived and died a constant Professor and Patron of the same: Thus was his Family *in lineâ rectâ*." [1]

The orthodoxy of Cosin's parents will appear the more creditable—from a Churchman's point of view—when it is remembered that Norwich was a hotbed of Puritanism, which was encouraged, no doubt, by the privileges of worship extended to the Protestant refugees from the Low Countries, and also by the scandalous remissness of the Church's officials: there was an absentee Bishop, a non-resident Chapter, and ruinous Cathedral buildings; while an archidiaconal visitation in 1609 elicited the fact that two churches in the city possessed no chalice for the administration of the Holy Communion and six were without a surplice.

But, at least, Norwich boasted an excellent grammar-school, which had already produced a pillar of the Church in Archbishop Parker. Here Cosin, for four years, received his early education, under the mastership of one Richard Briggs; and from here he gained a close scholarship to Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge. His debt to Norwich was not forgotten; and, in Basire's words, that "ancient, great, famous, and opulent city was rendered the more opulent by his liberal gifts and legacies."

Caius College was not at that time, any more

[1] Basire.

than it is at this, marked by a specially theological tone; but it had been brought into high repute under the Mastership of Branthwaite, who was a sound scholar and an excellent administrator. Of the other contemporary members of the foundation, two only have any interest in connection with Cosin—one considerably his senior, the other slightly his junior.

Oliver Naylor was already a Fellow when Cosin matriculated, and had a reputation for pleasing manners and solid scholarship. Of his intercourse with Cosin while at the University we know nothing; but we find him, soon afterwards, opening a correspondence with Cosin in words which suggest warm friendship and an entire absence of condescension.

"If you have any mind," he writes, "to receive and to send commendations so far, I could wish it might be us'd betwixt us. On my part I would be very glad to it that I might keep my remembrance where I am so much beholding, and howsoever I shall have but little news to requite your letters with, yet mine shall contain testimony of a true affection which I shall always bear you."

Cosin's part of the correspondence is, unfortunately, not extant; but Naylor's letters certainly give the impression that the writer was conscious of being the smaller man of the two.

Eleazar Duncon was admitted scholar of the College three years later than Cosin, who would seem to have marked him as a promising young divine and to have exerted considerable influ-

ence over him. Duncon followed Cosin to Durham, where he was installed as Prebendary in 1628, proving a strong ally to the "Catholic" party in the Chapter, and later succeeded Cosin as domestic chaplain to Bishop Neile. It is interesting to note that subsequently his thesis for his D.D. degree was "De Adoratione Dei versus altare." [1]

Of the details of Cosin's life at Cambridge no facts of importance have come to light; but the routine of daily college life and the course of study pursued at the period may justifiably, perhaps, be transcribed here from Mr. Bass Mullinger's delightful work on *Cambridge Characteristics in the Seventeenth Century*.

The student's day began with chapel, at the shockingly early hour of 5 a.m.; and the rest of the forenoon, after breakfast, was occupied with work, which might take the form of private study with his tutor, or attendance at lectures, or, if he was actually preparing for his degree, a public disputation. Dinner was eaten in hall at twelve, and was followed by further disputations or declamations; after which the student was at liberty to amuse himself according to his tastes till evening chapel, followed by supper in hall at 7 p.m., and, presumably, an early retirement to bed with a view to next morning's chapel. The chief subjects of study seem to have been rhetoric, logic, and classics; while

[1] His brother Edmund was the "possessor of the MS. of Herbert's *Country Parson* and transmitted it freely to the stationer who printed it." Cf. *Clergyman's Instructor* (Oxford, 1827), p. 5.

"theology frequently, if not systematically, found a place in those private studies, prosecuted by the tutor with his pupils."

Of less importance, but of considerable interest, is the account of the arrangement of rooms in Caius College at this period, given in Mr. Venn's History of the College. He describes the rooms as large in size—

"with three or four 'cupboards' in the corners, each with a window . . . in size between a sentry-box and a bathing-machine. . . . Three or four undergraduates lived and slept in the centre-room, sometimes with a tutor. . . . The 'studies' were quiet corners for them to work in. . . . The students had small truckle-beds, which by daytime could be run out of sight under the tutor's bed. . . . Most of the rooms evidently had fireplaces, but some of them certainly had not."

And he quotes Dr. Leaver of St. John's as saying that, when the students had finished their day's work, "they were fain to go into the court, and walk or run up and down half an hour to get an heat in their feet when they go to bed."

We can thus form a fairly accurate picture of Cosin's life as an undergraduate; and here it will be as well, perhaps, to give a bald and rapid summary of his University career. He was admitted scholar, at the age of fifteen years, on March 25th, 1610, and was marked "litt. grat." on the college books, as an indication, apparently, that he came up to the required standard of knowledge. He took his B.A. degree in 1614, and his M.A. in 1617. In 1619 he was admitted

Fellow-commoner of his college; and, after acting as Rhetoric Prælector in 1621, he was appointed University preacher in 1622, proceeded to his B.D. in 1626, and to his D.D. in 1630.

When exactly he was ordained is not clear; but his earliest extant sermon was preached in 1621, at Coton, near Cambridge. This fact is significant; for the Rector of Coton, John Hayward, was also Prebendary of Lichfield, and it was to him that Cosin owed his first step on the ladder of promotion, a debt acknowledged in his will with a practical token of gratitude.[1] Hayward was a nephew of Dr. Overall, Bishop of Lichfield, and he drew that prelate's attention to the promising young Cambridge divine, with the result that, in 1616, Cosin was offered the episcopal librarianship.

But his diligence and ability had already attracted the attention of his own diocesan, the saintly Andrewes, then Bishop of Ely, who was ever on the watch for young men of promise. He, too, in this same year offered Cosin his librarianship in London.

To choose between two such pious and eminent men must have caused Cosin a long and embarrassing hesitation. The service and patronage of both must have been wholly attractive. They were both of Cosin's own type of

[1] He bequeathed a legacy to Hayward's children "as a testimony of my gratitude to their deceased father, who in my younger age first placed me with his uncle, Bishop Overall, a prelate of ever honoured worth and memory." He seems, also, to have paid for the education of Hayward's son Peter.—*Correspondence*, i. 218. It was apparently this divine who first interested him in liturgiology, see p. 186, below.

churchmanship, and had, together, been mainly instrumental in stemming the tide of Calvinism at Cambridge. Both were ripe scholars; and both were marked seemingly for higher promotion, not inconceivably to the archiepiscopal throne.

That Cosin already knew Andrewes is almost certain[1]; that he had an enthusiastic admiration for him is evident from the way in which, in one of his later controversies, an opponent's disparagement of Andrewes brought his indignation to boiling-point:

"To be nibbling here at the honour of Bishop Andrewes, who said (and knew always what he said, *si quis alius*) . . . is such a slighting of him as we here, who honour him more than F. P. his Cardinal Bellarmine, cannot well endure. He was a man so eminent in learning and piety, of such extraordinary worth and note, so orthodox and Catholic, so exact in all his writings, and so free from all novelties, that it will be the Dr.'s honour (and so would it be F. P.'s too) to carry his books after him."[2]

But the decision was finally made for Cosin. Like a dutiful young man—he was barely of age at the time—he referred the question to his tutor, John Browne, and accepted his decision in favour of Overall.

It is perfectly clear that he never regretted this momentous step; and certainly Overall can have had no reason to regret the arrangement. As Cosin himself tells us, in the fragment quoted

[1] He was, at any rate, in the position to borrow the MS. of his liturgical notes, see p. 187, below.

[2] *Works*, iv. 315.

above, he soon became more than a merely official librarian; and from the extant records of Overall's work it is evident that Cosin proved a most valuable secretary. Basire sums up their relations with his usual periphrastic enthusiasm:

"Afterwards he had the honour to be brought up at the feet of that great Gamaliel, Dr. John Overall, an Apostolicall Bishop, first of Lichfield, after of Norwich, whose Secretary he was for his Learning and Caligraphy; for he had the pen of a ready writer in a singular way, and so might deserve the praise of the Tribe of Zabulon, so well could he handle the pen of the writer. Bishop Overall (who sent him from time to time to the University to keep his Acts) advised him to direct his studies in order to Divinity."

Overall's service brought Cosin, of course, into contact with the leading men and events of the ecclesiastical world, the most important instance being when, in his capacity as secretary, he attended Overall during his interview with the notorious humbug, Marc Antonio de Dominis, Archbishop of Spalatro, whose professed conversion to Anglicanism and undoubted learning won him at this time the Deanery of Windsor and the Mastership of the Savoy.[1]

But the greatest debt which Cosin felt himself to owe to the influence and example of Overall was his love of reading and passion for the acquisition of books: "by keeping Bishop

[1] Dissatisfied with his prospects as an English Churchman, he subsequently reverted to Romanism and was ill-advised enough to venture within reach of the Inquisition.

Overall's books," he wrote of himself, " he began to learn '*quanta pars eruditionis erat bonos nosse auctores*' (which was the saying of Joseph Scaliger), in the knowledge of which he would instruct him."

Cosin remained to the end of his life almost passionately loyal to the memory of Overall, whom he always delighted to call his " Lord and Master." Any point of doctrine or practice was irrevocably settled in his mind—it admitted of no further discussion—if he could say, " I observed my Lord and Master Overall to use . . . " or, " So I have heard my Lord Overall preach it " ; and probably he would add, " when I had the happiness to live with that rare and excellent man." And in 1669, when he had long held one of the highest positions of spiritual and secular power in the realm, he paid a final tribute to the memory of the man who had given him his first preferment: he erected in Norwich Cathedral a tablet to Overall's memory, on which he described himself as " *devotissimus Discipulus* " and his master as " *viri undequaque Doctissimi, & omni Encomio majoris.*"

And yet it is difficult to refrain from speculation as to how Cosin would have developed under the patronage of Bishop Andrewes. The testimony to the richness of Andrewes' intellect, to the purity of his character and the devotional mould of his mind, is unanimous. Had Cosin, at that impressionable age, come under the abiding influence of Andrewes, his might have been a more spiritual character, more marked by refinement and grace. But decidedly it could not

be maintained that Overall's influence on Cosin was bad or even neutral. Overall, as already mentioned, was coupled with Andrewes by Clarendon as one "who understood and loved the Church," and the great layman was of opinion that, if either had succeeded Bancroft as Primate instead of Abbot, "that infection would easily have been kept out which could not afterwards be so easily expelled." All evidence attests Overall's learning. His Churchmanship is indicated by the sacramental portion of the Church Catechism, which we owe to his compilation, while the chivalrous devotion he aroused in his disciple argues sterling gifts of heart and soul. And if there are certain traits in Cosin's character, as revealed in his after-life, to which exception may be taken, it would be juster and more reasonable to attribute them to the subsequent influence of Neile, Bishop of Durham, who succeeded Overall as Cosin's patron. It would be difficult, perhaps, to find a stronger contrast than that suggested by Andrewes and Neile, a contrast which is illustrated very forcibly by the answers given by the two prelates to King James's question, "Cannot I take my subjects' money when I want it without all this formality of Parliament?" Neile's reply was prompt and unreserved: "God forbid, sir, but you should; you are the very breath of our nostrils." The acquiescence of Andrewes was less comprehensive and was expressed only under compulsion: "Sir, I think it is lawful for you to take my brother Neile's money, because he offers it."

Such was the man whose household Cosin entered as domestic chaplain, on the death of Overall in 1619. One shrinks from adding to the many opprobrious epithets which have been attached to the memory of Neile, and which he seems quite fairly to have earned : " sycophant," " time-server," " unprincipled courtier " — writers of a churchly type of mind, as well as those of Puritanic sympathies, agree in labelling him thus. It would not be a very wild venture to assume that he created, and still holds, the record for the number of sees which he successively held : Rochester (1608), Lichfield (1610), Lincoln (1613), Durham (1617), Winchester (1627), York (1631). This rapid promotion he certainly did not owe to a reputation for scholarship, for he wisely made pretensions to none ; it was the reward of an unblushing subservience to the royal will, a characteristic which is well illustrated in the story quoted above, and which stands out in its most shameful colours in the case of the Essex divorce.

But Neile, like other villains, was not all bad ; he had at least two redeeming traits, both of which were reflected in the subsequent career of his new *protégé*. He was a great repairer of fabric, " restoring all the houses belonging to the see at a vast expense " ; and he devoted himself to the discovery and development of latent talent in his younger contemporaries. He was " Laud's early patron and later supporter " ; and to his London house in the Strand he so attracted the leading men of ecclesiastical learning that it was popularly referred

to as "Durham College." Here Cosin was able to enjoy close intercourse with the leaders of the "Anglican" reaction, the "Canterburians" as they came to be called by those who stigmatised their preaching as Arminianism and their practice as popery.

In view of Cosin's close intimacy with Richard Mountague, begun at Durham House, the following skit upon the party, extracted from the *Appeal of the Orthodox Ministers of the Church of England against Richard Montagu*, is of special interest and is not without some ingredient of truth:

"An Arminian, or mere Montaguist, is an animal scarce rational, whose study is to read and applaud Peter Lombard and John Duns, before Peter Martyr and John Calvin. . . . His garb or fashion, when he comes from the University, with affectation, is to wear a long cloke and a correspondent cassock, short nowhere but in the waist, which is girt up with a girdle and a knot or rose almost up to his nose; commonly a falling-band, because precisians wear small set-ruffs. His religion is like a confection, compounded of many, the least ingredient being Protestantism, and to believe as the Church doth. . . . His devotion is so conformable to the ceremonies of the Church, that he thinks it impiety to decline the least particle thereof."

CHAPTER II

WINNING HIS SPURS

"A grave divine is one that knows the burthen of his calling, and hath studied to make his shoulders sufficient. . . . He hath sounded both religions and anchored in the best, and is a protestant out of judgment not faction; not because his country but his reason is on his side. . . . He esteems the Church hierarchy as the Church's glory, and, however we jar with Rome, would not have our confusion distinguish us."

EARLE.

In 1624 Bishop Neile presented his chaplain to the Mastership of Greatham Hospital, an ancient foundation in Durham which had been re-founded by James I. for the maintenance of thirteen poor unmarried men. This preferment was of the annual value of £100, and Cosin promptly exchanged it with Gabriel Clarke, Prebendary and Archdeacon of Durham, for the benefice of Elwick, a small parish near Hartlepool, which could have afforded little scope for his energy and gifts. In the December of the same year, however, he was installed as tenth Prebendary in the Cathedral Church of Durham, and so began his official connection with the foundation on which he was to leave so deep an impression.

He was at the time not thirty years of age, and must have been the youngest member of the Chapter; but, with his clear views of what

he wanted and how best to attain his objects, and by his high sense of duty, he quickly won a commanding influence over his colleagues. From the first he set an excellent example by his regularity of attendance, and Basire states that "he was so far from pressing upon his Majesty for importunate Dispensations (which are always the sovereign's most just Prerogative in cases of real and legal necessity) that, upon search of our Church's Register, I find not one Dispensation for him in all the time he continued Prebendary, which was about 36 years." Basire also bears witness to his industry in "searching and studying the Rights and Antiquities of the Church of Duresme"; and the late Canon Ornsby corroborates this evidence:

"With careful diligence he compared the various Charters and evidences preserved in the Treasury of the Cathedral with the *Repertorium Magnum*, or great catalogue of its contents, which had been compiled by their former possessors; and an occasional *deest* in the margin in his handwriting witnesses to the industry with which he must have prosecuted his search through that large mass of manuscripts, and the accuracy with which he noted the presence or the absence of each separate document."

Another evidence of his zeal, no less than of his lifelong interest in books, is found in an Act for the better maintenance of the Cathedral library extant in his handwriting. It records that at a Chapter-meeting held on July 20th, 1628—

"the Dean and Chapter of this Church, well and

duly weighing how much it concerns them, among their other cares for the advancement of religion and learning, to provide against the further decay and negligence of their Common Library, wherein they stand so strictly charged by the will and pleasure of their Royal Founders; and considering also how fit and requisite it is . . . to provide as well for the present supply as for the future replenishing and maintenance of the same: And, for this purpose having lately at their common, and no small charge, not only repaired the ruin of the place, and reformed the rudeness of the old stalls, by making a fair frame of shelves and other conveniences more useful than before; but also newly composed those ancient manuscripts and other books (whereof the iniquity of former times had not yet made a full spoil) to be the better preserved hereafter, for the use and benefit of the Church: And forasmuch as the said Dean and Chapter have lately also expended such large sums of money for the reparation of their Church-fabric, and for the ornaments, utensils, and beauty of the same, together with so many augmentations which they have newly granted out of their common purse for the better life, maintenance, and encouragement of them that daily perform their due service in the Quire, that through this means . . . they are now become unable to furnish and provide the same Library with such store of books and authors, in their several class, both ancient and modern, as they most desire . . . it is therefore this day enacted . . .

"(1) That hereafter every new Dean and Prebendary of this Church respectively shall, at the time of his installation, pay unto the said Library the sum of 20 marks for the Dean, and 20 nobles for any Prebendary, in lieu of a ban-

quet formerly in use, which shall hereafter be spared. . . .

"(2) That from henceforth . . . no lease nor patent shall be confirmed . . . unless that every such lessee or patentee whatsoever shall . . . pay in money by way of fine to the Library one-tenth part of the whole year's profit, at the least, of the lease or patent so confirmed. . . .

"(3) That hereafter no corpse shall be buried within any place of the Church (other than the families of such as be members of the same) unless 40*s.* be first paid to the Library, nor in or above the Quire unless ten pounds be first paid thereunto, besides the accustomed fees."

We get in this document an indication that Cosin had, from the first, set himself to raise the standard of worship in the mother-church of the diocese. There is, indeed, plenty of evidence that he succeeded in introducing a somewhat ornate ceremonial, consisting, his enemies declared, in "altar decking, cope wearing, organ playing, piping and singing, crossing of cushions and kissing of clouts, oft starting up and squatting down, nodding of heads, and whirling about till their noses stand eastward, setting basons on the altar, candlesticks, and crucifixes, burning wax candles in excessive number when and where there is no use of lights; and what is worst of all, gilding of angels and garnishing of images, and setting them aloft." The venom of this statement, made in Peter Smart's notorious sermon, is manifest: Cosin's "ritualistic" tendencies were undoubtedly exaggerated by his contemporaries, and would, in these days, be regarded as decidedly moderate; but he cer-

tainly did aim at surrounding the public worship of God with as much beauty of form and sound and colour and with as much dignity of ceremonial as he believed to be consistent with the rubrical standards of the Prayer Book. All this will be abundantly illustrated in the great controversy with Smart which loomed so large in Cosin's life [1]; and it is further seen in the fact that he acquiesced in the Bishop's direction that the vestments in use (which seem to have been chasuble, tunicle, and dalmatic) should be "changed into fair and large copes, according to the Canons and Constitutions of the Church of England." [2]

On July 20th, 1626, Cosin, without resigning Elwick, was collated to the "rich rectory of Brancepeth," a preferment which he owed, apparently, to Laud's influence with the Duke of Buckingham. He speaks of it in a letter to Laud as "a remote and quiet place [it is barely six miles south-west of Durham] which I cannot name without a most lowly and thankful remembrance as well of my Lord Duke's noble grace as of your Lordship's honourable disposition towards me, by whose goodness I enjoy it." It is, perhaps, significant that, a few weeks previously, Cosin had been useful in securing the election of the Duke of Buckingham to the Chancellorship of Cambridge University.[3] At Brancepeth, Cosin set himself at once to improve

[1] See pp. 57 ff. below.

[2] *Corr.* i. 170, where there is a full description of the resultant copes.

[3] Ellis's *Original Letters*, iii. 230, Jan. 1825.

the fabric of the fine parish church—a good intention he will scarcely be allowed to have fulfilled as regards the somewhat incongruous porch and the heavy parapet which he added externally; but internally he introduced an abundance of woodwork which can hardly be exceeded in richness in any village church in England. He also placed the reading-desk (which no longer exists) and the pulpit side by side and at an equal height, as an object-lesson to his parishioners, to whom in one of his sermons he complained that "when some men would exalt the pulpit, they cannot do it without debasing the desk; when they would canonize their preachers, they cannot do it without disgracing their readers."

Another characteristic mark of his incumbency is the extraordinary neatness and care with which the parochial registers were kept.[1]

But these were, of course, the less important aspects of his work at Brancepeth, where everything points to a careful discharge of his pastoral office. He resided there whenever his other duties permitted; and he was conscientious in the employment of satisfactory curates, who were expected to make regular reports of parochial matters when, as later on, his absences were prolonged. Of his sermons preached at Brancepeth several are extant: they are thoroughly characteristic of the period and are

[1] See below, p. 29. In the chancel of Brancepeth Church there is an oak tablet which Cosin intended for his epitaph, but, having directed such an epitaph to be engraved in Auckland Palace, he left no instructions about this.

Brancepeth Church,
shewing Cosin's woodwork.

(From a photograph by W. Wilkinson, Durham).

obviously influenced by the preaching of Bishop Andrewes. He says of his own preaching, "We love to speak *tempestive* . . . for to have taken a text that nothing concerned the time, as some of our new brethren use to do, had been a dishonour to the feast." He seems to have been fond of preaching to his parishioners on the Commandments—a wise choice of subject, but in a style more erudite and stilted than would be calculated to influence modern villagers. In those days, however, a display of scholarship was demanded from preachers by even the humblest congregations; and that he could be simple and direct the following extract on the neglect of churchgoing will show:

"Truly to the infirm there must be some indulgence; but we are somewhat afraid for all that to open this door; for as soon as we do but open it for the infirm and weak, when they are out, there comes such a press of people after them that we know not how to get it shut again; for then we are all weak, all ill, and so all run through. The truth is, all are ill disposed, or else they would never make such poor pretences as they usually do. The rawness of the weather, the hardness of the way, the length of the journey, the least indisposition of the body, are with most of you now thought to be reasons sufficient enough to affront this law and commandment of God; and yet your own affairs, your own pleasures and customs, they shall not affront. The day before was a day for your market; perhaps the weather worse, the journey longer, yet that you could bear. This day is a market for your souls, and this place, hither you

cannot come, could not, no by no means; you had endangered your health, and yet you would venture it for a less matter by far. So comes God's church, His market-place, to be the emptiest always of the two, to the shame of your pretended religion."

This passage could easily be borrowed unaltered by modern preachers, who may well take comfort from the knowledge that the neglect of public worship is not an essentially modern failing. But belief in witchcraft, which is the subject of indignant denunciation in one of Cosin's parochial sermons, would rarely (though, perhaps, not quite as rarely as is generally supposed) need handling in a modern pulpit; in Cosin's age, however, it was a burning question.[1] Again, it is now a commonplace of pastoral theology that controversy should be, as far as possible, avoided in the pulpit. Such a rule would have been universally repudiated in the seventeenth century; and Cosin felt it his duty (and a not altogether disagreeable one) to deal heavy and reiterated blows on this side and that: Calvinism was, of course, rampant, whilst

[1] In the *Memorials* of Bulstrode Whitelock, Commissioner of the Great Seal under the "Commonwealth," there are constant references to letters reporting the apprehension of witches. On one occasion he relates that "some accused for witches had been tortured, to make them confess, by tying their thumbs behind them and then hanging them up by their thumbs while two Highlanders whipped them; after which, they set lighted candles to the soles of their feet and between their toes; then burned them by putting lighted candles into their mouths, and then burning them in the head."—Whitelock's *Memorials* (Oxford, 1853), iii. 465; *cf.* iii. 128, 221, and iv. 51.

Cosin's curate had on one occasion to report "the seducing of George Douthwaite's wife to Popery." [1]

An interesting record of Cosin's demeanour in the conduct of public worship is forthcoming. In July, 1633, Sir William Webb wrote to Bishop Laud that, according to his promise and the Bishop's directions, he had been with Dr. Cosin at Brancepeth, where he was three times present with him in his church at divine prayers, and had received the Blessed Sacrament, "most reverently here administered," with the result, apparently, that he was confirmed in his adherence to the English Church.[2] This outward reverence is further quaintly attested in one of Mountague's letters to Cosin: "Since you went, it is reported at Windsor that you were a Jesuit sent hither to bring me a book, of I know not what, to be answered; because, contrary to our fashion, you carried yourself so devoutly at prayers." [3]

Now that preferments were falling thick upon him, Cosin, undeterred by canonical scruples, could without imprudence contemplate the desirability of taking upon him the holy estate of matrimony. He had already, in a sermon, expressed with his usual vigour and directness his views on the subject of marriage:

"He would have our thoughts taken up with

[1] Cosin's friend, Mountague, wrote to him that "some of the Romish Limitors had come within my pale" and that he had written his "New Gag" to answer the parties.

[2] *State Papers*, Domestic Series, July 25th, 1633.

[3] See, too, 321, p. below; cf. p. 30.

a wife's virtues, when we marry one, and not with her visage; with her goodness that she brings, and not with her goods. . . . Marry, the world runs now for wives as Judas ran to the High-Priests for money, with *quantum dabis*, what will ye give? no matter what she hath besides, though both would do well together, howsoever. And if the maiden chance to say, with Peter, *Aurum et argentum non est mihi*, 'Gold and silver have I none, but such as I have shall be yours,' let her be as obedient as ever Sarah was, as devout as Anna, as loving as Rebecca, as virtuous as the Virgin Mary,—yet shall all be esteemed as nothing, *quærenda pecunia primum est*, other things may mend it, but money makes the match. It will hardly be believed, if we tell the world that money commonly mars it; but believe it or not, that which makes it good, is goodness; and to have the Mother of Jesus, and the blessing of Jesus with it, is worth the greatest dowry that now-a-days is given; to want them, be the dowry what it will be, be the beauty of the maid, the credit of her house, the greatness of her stock, never so great, all will be but vanity, and turn to vexation of spirit."

Without making it an axiom applicable to all cases, we may charitably suppose that the preacher meant what he said, and that it was something higher than a dowry and social position that led him to woo Frances Blakiston; we can, however, imagine him candidly admitting, "yet a blessing of God it is when such advantages are added." In any case, the family into which he married [1] was of very good stand-

[1] 1626. Johannes Cosyn, Pastor de Elwick, et Domina

ing in the Palatinate, with a residence at Newton Hall, near Durham, while the bride's father, Marmaduke Blakiston, was a most prosperous dignitary of the Church. For sixteen years John and Frances Cosin lived together in holy wedlock; but little is known of their married life and conjugal relations. If his enemies may be believed, Mrs. Cosin sometimes succeeded in curbing her husband's irascibility; on one occasion, at any rate, she seems to have saved from violent usage one who had borne false witness against him.[1] She bore him seven children, three sons (of whom two died in infancy) and four daughters, the last at the cost of her life in 1642. On the monument erected to her memory in Peterborough Cathedral, Cosin speaks of her as *præstantissima femina, generosa et pientissima conjux.* That this was something more than a compliment demanded by the etiquette of epitaph-writing is clear from Basire's testimony:

"His wife was a prudent wife, and therefore from the Lord: to my knowledge a true yokefellow, not only *in prosperis* (as too many worldly-minded wives) but chiefly *in adversis*, which is the trial of a good wife, and of a true friend indeed; and these are blessings! For to have the burthen of a wife, and not the bless-

Francisca Blakiston, filia Dom. Marmaduci Blakiston, de Newton, nupt. August 13." Reg. St. Margaret's, Crossgate, Durham.

[1] One of the twenty-one articles of impeachment against Cosin (1640–1) was that Mrs. Cosin had had to intervene to save from rough handling the man who had reported Cosin's alleged words derogating from the King's prerogative.

ing of a good wife, is a great cross, if not a curse."

Peter Smart, Cosin's fellow-prebendary, insinuated that he had to be bribed with the Archdeaconry of Cleveland (or the East Riding of York) before he offered his hand and his heart to Frances Blakiston. This is, no doubt, an example of the pleasing method by which Smart imagined that he proved a Romeward drift in the Durham Chapter. But Cosin certainly had succeeded his prospective father-in-law as Archdeacon of the East Riding in September, 1625. He was the very last man to treat such an office as a sinecure, and he at once put himself into communication with his legal adviser in archidiaconal matters, from whose reply we may infer that Cosin had set before himself an ideal of "moderate severity" in the maintenance of ecclesiastical discipline. The worthy official gives a far from reassuring impression of the condition of affairs in the archdeaconry: the new appointment, he writes—

"yields comfort to me, being an old inferior officer, tho' unworthy, and ever desirous of Reformation, who have been much troubled with the perverse conditions of the laity in these latter days, and I may well say in these profane times, and also of some of the Clergy. . . . Well may your Worship term these times of neglect, for even in the Clergy I find great defect in the performance of real duties; and I am not alone in this: others suffer as well and cannot amend it, and if a man use lawful means to compel them

to do what they ought, then do they exclaim and rail as if they had injustice done: these be the times that a man may well say, *O tempora! O mores!*"

The Articles of Visitation exhibited to the churchwardens of the East Riding by Archdeacon Cosin, although based on those of earlier officials, are of considerable interest as showing, not only the directions in which he suspected irregularities, but also the points on which his own predilections led him to lay special stress. These articles are extant in two forms: a condensed form, as ready apparently for the printer,[1] and a fuller form, with part missing[2]; the latter may possibly have provided material for the archidiaconal charge. With regard to the fabric and ornaments, Cosin seems to have been anxious about the disappearance of chancel-screens, the comeliness of the Communion table, and its proper position "according to the injunctions," the use of "common tavern pots, wicker, stone, or leathern bottles, instead of silver or good pewter flagons" for the conveyance of the Eucharistic wine, and the cleanliness and size of the surplice "with wide and long sleeves." As regards the clergy, his inquiries concern, *inter alia*, simony, the absence of any licence to preach, non-residence without the provision of satisfactory curates, devotion to preaching at the expense of praying, the holding of prophecies and exercises, the frequenting of conventicles or meetings of silenced

[1] *Works*, ii. 3 ff. [2] *Corr.*, i. 106 ff.

and suspended ministers, and the public behaviour of the clergy:

"Doth he use comeliness in apparel at home? Doth he wear his priest's cloak abroad? Doth he lodge or board in any ale-house or tavern, or doth he commonly resort into such places? Doth he use any base or servile labour, not answerable to the honour and dignity of his calling? Doth he use any dice, cards, tables, or other idle and unlawful games? Is he one that seriously plies not his devotions and his studies? Is he a hunter, hawker, dancer, swearer, usurer, or suspected of incontinency? Is he anyways offensive or scandalous to his function or ministry?"

As regards the public services of the Church, it is interesting to note that he inquires as to any failure to recite Morning and Evening Prayer daily,[1] the addition of "any prayers of his own or other men's framing," the omission to "bid the holidays and fasting days," the presuming of deacons to celebrate the Holy Communion and to pronounce Absolutions, the neglect of infant Baptism, the use of a basin instead of a font, the omission of the sign of the Cross, the teaching of Catechisms other than that contained in the Prayer Book, the failure to invite penitents to seek Absolution, the breach of the seal of secrecy in confession, refusal to kneel for the reception of the Blessed Sacrament, the consecrating of too much bread and wine with a view to private consumption, marrying with-

[1] He always laid special stress on this obligation. See pp. 201, 255 n, below.

out a ring and in prohibited seasons,[1] the substitution of extemporaneous prayer for the Bidding Prayer before the sermon,[2] and the neglect of the Rogation procession, "using the prayers and thanksgiving to God for His blessings, as the two Psalms 102 and 103. . . ."

In the fuller form of inquiries, characteristic concern is expressed as to the entries into the Register Book "in fair and full manner," and also as to the intelligent and reverent performance of the public offices:

"Doth your Parson . . . apply himself to the study and knowledge of the Church Service, together with the laudable solemnities and religious ceremonies thereunto belonging; so that upon all occasions he be expert and ready to execute any part thereof . . . and also to understand the course of the Church-service and rites so well, that he may be ready to render a good reason thereof to them that ask it? Doth he duly observe and perform his *daily* task in serving God and praying for the people . . . always remembering that it is one great part of his office . . . to praise and worship God not only in his own name but in the name of others also, and to offer up the Daily Prayers of the Church as for the welfare of all Christian people, so especially of those who are committed to his charge? . . . . When at any time he saith or

[1] See p. 208, below.

[2] The point of this inquiry is indicated in the title of a book by Dean Steward, of Westminster: "*The old Puritan detected and defeated*; or a brief treatise showing how by the artifice of pulpit prayers our dissenters at all times have endeavoured to undermine the Liturgy of the Church of England."

celebrateth Divine Service, doth he perform the same in that religious, grave and aweful manner which best beseemeth him to use before the presence of Almighty God, Whom then he comes to serve, and which doth best affect the people with reverence and devotion, who come to serve with him? Doth he read distinctly with pauses, and pray devoutly with all lowliness and humility? Doth he not post and haste over his service? and doth he not perform it negligently and slightly, or in any other rude manner, which ill beseemeth the solemn worship of Almighty God? . . . Is the Litany said so distinctly, so gravely, and so leisurely, that thereby the people may be stirred up to devotion?"

And then, as to preaching:

"Do they set forth the true faith and religion of Christ in the undoubted and fundamental truths thereof? Do they not use to soar too high and meddle with unrevealed mysteries? Are they discreet and grave, not light and humorous in their preaching? Do they seem to foresee with diligence the matters whereupon they are to treat, and not presume to set up and preach *quidquid in buccam*? Are they not otherwise meddling with civil matters in rude and undecent reviling of persons, or otherwise given to any bitter and railing invectives? But do they chiefly labour to exhort the people unto obedience, peace and unity, teaching them a godly, righteous, and a sober life . . . declaring God's promises as they be generally set forth in Holy Scripture, and raising no curious and unnecessary questions to the perplexing of men's consciences and the disquieting of the Church's peace? Whether do you know that they broach

any new and strange doctrines, or any old and condemned heresies ? that they teach the people religiously to believe any thing but what is agreeable to the manifest rules of Holy Scripture ? . . . that they deliver aught to the depraving of the Book of Common Prayer ? . . . And yet nevertheless do they religiously and seriously labour to keep from the people as well the superstitious and gross errors of the Papist, as the profane and wild madness of the Anabaptist, whose offspring be the Puritans ? "

It is small wonder that when this " offspring of the Anabaptist " came to wield supreme power in the State, Cosin's office as Archdeacon became a sinecure ; he did not resign it, however, until his promotion to the Episcopate after the Restoration.

CHAPTER III

IN THE THICK OF THE FRAY

"Now if any man marvel how a thing in itself so weak could import any great danger, they must consider not so much how small the spark is that flieth up, as how apt things about it are to take fire."—HOOKER.

IT is now time to trace the steps by which Cosin came to be one of the special objects of Puritanic hatred far beyond the precincts of Durham, and to achieve the distinction of being "the first victim of the Long Parliament." That the leaders of the Anglican party early recognised him as a promising recruit is abundantly illustrated in previous pages. They were not likely to leave him long in the background; and when, in January, 1625, Laud, then Bishop of St. David's, contemplated the arranging of a course of sermons to be delivered at St. Paul's Cross in support of the Anglican views, Cosin was one of those invited to preach. He was always ready to do battle *à outrance*, and seems to have been willing to do his share; but Mountague was strongly averse and declined to take part in the scheme.

"You cannot," he wrote, "hold out against the faction: strong, fierce, potent, especially there. . . . I never come at the Cross. I never

will. I should do no good but my body harm, my reputation hazard, my cause hurt. For the City, you know, *furioso more calvinisat.* If my Lord of St. David's press you, *I præ, sequar.* If he and such preach the sermons, repeat you. But οὐκ ἔσται τοῦτο : nor that. I tell you what I would do myself."

And when the scheme came to nothing, he wrote in great relief :

" It is well put off. You would have exasperated the godly ones more, that, by God's grace, nor dare nor can do you hurt, nor me neither, which I think (and so I am given to understand) am the most hated man alive with them."

It was a striking recognition of Cosin's knowledge of ritual that he should have been appointed Magister Ceremoniarum at the Coronation of Charles I., when both the monarch and his chief ecclesiastical adviser, Laud, determined to aim at scrupulous correctness of ceremonial. It was a feather in Cosin's cap that Laud was able to write in his *Diary* :

" In so great a ceremony, and amidst an incredible concourse of people, nothing was lost or broken, or dishonoured. . . . I heard some of the Nobility saying to the King in their return that they never had seen any Solemnity, although much less, performed with so little noise and so great order."

The chief credit for this was due, no doubt, to Laud himself, who officiated in the place of the

Dean of Westminster, Bishop Williams of Lincoln, then in disgrace; but Cosin had a task of great responsibility, being so placed that he could signal to the Choir, and, in later years, Prynne, who had access to the official copy of the office, named it as an aggravation of Laud's offences that "Popish Master J.C., when the prayers appointed for the Coronation were then read, kneeled behind the Bishops, giving directions to the Quire when to answer."[1] It is also of interest to note, in connection with Cosin, that his translation of the *Veni Creator*, of which more will be said when his *Book of Devotions* is considered, was printed as an appendix to the copy of the service used by the King himself, perhaps for his private devotional use.[2]

Any suspicions aroused in the minds of the Puritans by the ceremonial prominence of Cosin at this great rite were fully confirmed when he stepped boldly forward as one who knew intimately the mind of Richard Mountague and was prepared to defend the views and the reputation of his friend. In the vain hope of silencing the clamour against Mountague,[3] soon to be raised to the episcopal bench, the Duke of Buckingham arranged a conference, to be held at his own residence, York House, between Mountague and

[1] *Canterbury's Doom*, p. 70.

[2] *The Manner of the Coronation of King Charles I.* has been edited by Chr. Wordsworth, and published by the Henry Bradshaw Society.

[3] For a very fair account of Mountague's views, with a summing-up in his favour, see Gardiner's *Hist. Eng.* v. 351 ff.; and for his threatened impeachment by the Commons, see *ibid.* v. 362 ff., 399 ff., vi. 64 f.

two divines of Puritanic views, at which the former's writings should be subjected to a searching examination. Mountague himself was unable to attend; but Cosin took his place and was able so promptly to lay his finger on passages which refuted the charges advanced by Dr. Preston, Master of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, and by Bishop Morton, that Buckingham, who presided at the two meetings with "great shrewdness and ability" (*vide* Dr. Gardiner), declared that nothing contrary to the formularies of the English Church had been proved against Mountague.[1] How well qualified Cosin was to speak for his friend is made clear in his *Correspondence*. The mature scholar, forty-seven years of age, sends his young friend of twenty-nine years a rough draft of his *Appello Cæsarem*, with the words:

"Add, alter, do what you will . . . I refer the whole unto you as you please. . . . Dispose it as you will, so a contrary tenet be not imposed on me. . . . How have you christened it? You never said anything of the name. That I committed to you . . . I will alter nothing contrary to your opinions. . . . I shall wholly and totally make you overseer, and overman too, of my book at press. . . . You have it now as well as I can make it; mend what you will, mar what you list."

In view of the fact that Dr. White, to whom the licensing of the book had been committed, declared that "the knave Cosin" had altered

[1] *Works*, ii. 17 ff., where Cosin's own account of the Conference is printed.

some of the wording after the licence had been issued, it is interesting to find Mountague writing, "Use and dispose it as you will; and, if you will, let Dr. White see it again, though he need not." Mountague announced at the time that he had had a collaborator, "which he would discover when occasion should require"[1]: when one recalls the troubles which the book had brought on his own head, it is easy to appreciate his reticence.

Towards the close of 1626 Cosin's chance came to express his views publicly and prominently in London, and he seized it as if spoiling for the fray. He was chosen by Francis White, Bishop-designate of Carlisle, the licenser of the *Appello Cæsarem*, to preach the sermon at his consecration in Durham House Chapel. It was presumably a great occasion for Cosin, and one on which he was likely to put forth his full powers. He spoke his mind so racily and took his stand so courageously, that a somewhat lengthy abstract of the sermon is justifiable.[2] He bases his discourse on the words recorded in St. John xx. 21, 22—"Peace be unto you: as My Father hath sent Me, even so send I you. And when He had spoken these words, He breathed on them, and said, Receive the Holy Ghost: whose sins you do remit," etc. After an opening sentence on the Power of the Keys as given to bishops "over and besides those

[1] *Court and Times of Charles I.*, i. 449. Letter of Pory to Mead.

[2] For the entire sermon, and all its attendant pomp, see *Works*, i. 85 ff.

that are committed to the custody of a priest in his ordination, to bind a sinful and to loose a penitent soul," he proceeds to " divide the Text into five heads " and to introduce the Bidding Prayer. Having reached the sermon proper, under the first head, " the quality which Christ requires in ambassadors," he points out that " before Christ puts the Apostles into any other commission, He puts them into the Commission of Peace " ; but, as for those—

" who cry us up ' No peace ' and ' No moderation ' . . . I wonder where they had their orders. . . . For such unpeaceable people we may sing ' Come, Holy Spirit,' long enough ; sing it and say it too, as they use to do before every sermon, and yet the Holy Spirit come down ne'er a whit the faster. . . . But high shall their reward be in heaven and their honour great among the Saints, that here love and labour for the peace of Christ's Church. And so I proceed."

Under the second head, " Their Mission—*Mitto vos*," he emphasises the fact that the Apostles—

" stepped not up of their own heads and bishoped themselves, but had One to put them into office, were sent, and had a mission ; for there are that run and I sent them not, saith God in Jeremiah ; a sort of forward men that are crept into office, nobody knows how, and so overweening of their own worth that the Church shall never need to trouble herself for the matter, to call them or to send them, for they are upon their journey long ago ; they sent themselves and can preach, order, rule, and

govern, or do anything ye will have them do, better than all the mitred bishops with their Letters Missive in their hands."

But Geneva must not have all the trouncing; so, with a passing reference to those " that gulled the too-credulous Papists with a tale, and falsely here accused us, in the beginning of the late Queen's reign, that our bishops had then no lawful succession," the preacher vindicates the claim of the English episcopate to trace their authority directly to Christ—

" of Whom we depend immediately for the power of our orders, and are subordinate to no power besides. . . . Neither did any bishop ever challenge more, acknowledging themselves but ministers of Christ's power, unless it were he that came, not (it seems) to minister, but to monarch it over the world, and he, forsooth, will have us hold of him. . . . But then must we go mend our text here; for if so, Christ was properly to have said, not 'I send you all,' but 'I send St. Peter and let him send the rest.' Enough to let you see the vanity of his claim and the iniquity of his quarrel. Let the world judge, then, where the schism lies; for we have our mission from Christ as well as he."

As to the Commission (the third head), Christ was sent first—

" to reconcile God unto men, which He did by His death, and secondly, to reconcile men unto God, which He did by leaving a Gospel in a Church. . . . In the first sense the Apostles were not sent . . . yet there is some likeness in their sendings this way . . . they were sent by Him

to be ministers of the reconciliation, and, in a manner to be sacrificers too, representers at the Altar here, and appliers of the Sacrifice once made for all; without which last act, the first will do us no good."

But Christ sent them "in the second sense more properly, and here the *sicut* runs many ways":

(1) "Christ was sent to preach the Gospel to the poor, and of the same errand are His Apostles and Bishops sent, 'Go ye and teach all nations.'"

This gives the preacher an opening to oppose the liberty of prophesying claimed by the Puritans. Priests have no essential authority to preach—

"but yet under the bishop's licence only. . . . I would not be mistaken, I come not here to preach down preaching; but this I wonder at, that preaching nowadays should be counted our only office, as if we had nothing else to do, and an office independent too, as if we were all bishops when we preach."

(2) "Christ was sent not to preach His own will, but His Father's. Nor were the Apostles sent to preach what they would themselves . . . so that they which preach as voluntary as the organ plays or the sudden motions of a spirit . . . and they which preach us up new doctrines or a new faith, which was never heard on since the world began afore, may go seek some other commission."

(3) "Christ was sent to preach a law, and they that are sent by Him are sent to make men observe a law."

And so the preacher has a fling at those "who love not to hear of a law, of a working and a doing religion . . . they which preach us all Gospel and put no law among it." And here it is admitted that Papists can justifiably point the finger of scorn, inasmuch as—

"we are sent to preach sermons to the people, as men that had some pretty commodities to sell them which, if they liked, they might buy and use; if not, they might let them alone; that we talk of devotion, but live like the careless; that we have a service, but no servants at it; that we have churches, but keep them not like the House of God; that we have the Sacraments, but few to frequent them; confession, but few to practise it; finally, that we have all religious duties (for they cannot deny it), but seldom observed; all good laws and canons of the Church, but few or none kept; the people are made to do nothing, the old discipline is neglected, and men do what they list. It should be otherwise, and our Church intends it otherwise. . . ."

(4) "Christ was sent to preach by His own life and to give an example to others, which is the best kind of preaching, when all is done. . . ."

(5) "Christ was sent as a sheep to the slaughter, and saith, 'I send you as sheep among wolves.' A lesson this which my lord bishop of Rome hath, it seems, long ago forgot; for he has turned the text now quite another way and made it run backwards; comes he like a wolf among the sheep. . . . Christ came not so, and the Apostles came not so; I wonder of whose sending he should be that comes after this manner."

And here the preacher has another word for the laity of his own Church:

"Men speak well of their clergy? No. There is a saying of His which spoilt that long ago, 'They shall speak all manner of evil against you'; and so they do. . . ."

(6) "Christ sent them to be the dispensers of His sacred mysteries. . . . In bishops this is to send, ordain, and govern others. . . . For it was the high-priest of old and not the presbytery, it is the bishops now and not the vestry-man, nor the priest neither, that hath authority to put into the priesthood or to give any orders at all."

And for this "the full consent of reverend antiquity" is claimed at some length.

The fourth head of the sermon—the ceremony used—gives an opportunity for a final gibe:

"No doubt but Christ (an it had pleased Him) might have given them the Spirit without any breathing upon them at all; the substance without the ceremony. And had He so done He had got some men's hearts by it for ever, which now He is like to lose; their's that condemn all ceremonies in religion for vanity and superstition. Now much pity it was that these ceremony-haters of our day had not then been living and standing by, to advise and to put Christ in mind what a foundation He would lay here for superstition and Popery, and how much better it had been to have made no more ado but to have come, as they use to do, with the Spirit only, and so be gone. Yet thus it was not . . . the truth is, He did seldom or never any great act without a ceremony."

The last section of the sermon—on "the substance given and received"—consists of quotations from Bishop Andrewes, with a frank acknowledgment of their source. And now the preacher, with a glance, no doubt, at the hour-glass, which was then an important part of a pulpit's furniture, hints at the honour of the episcopal office, but exclaims, "*Manum de tabula;* it is a new and a long theme that, another hour must end it." And so he reaches his peroration:

"My lord, you see you have an honourable and an holy calling. . . . I will not take upon me to be your instructor, but here is your pattern: peace with men and holiness with God."

The above summary, which does not contain all the controversial passages in this not very edifying sermon, fully explains the rancour which Cosin aroused in the Puritanic breast; and in wiser times it would have been enough to damage irretrievably an ecclesiastic's hopes of preferment. It was, however, quite in keeping with the fatuous policy of Charles and Laud at this time to push Cosin into further prominence.

It is not quite clear when Cosin, on the recommendation of Neile,[1] now Archbishop of York, was appointed Chaplain-in-ordinary to the King; but it was at this period that Charles made use

[1] Prynne was probably right in arguing that, whether or no Neile made the formal recommendation, Laud's opinion decided the appointment.

of him in two tasks, which were no doubt thoroughly congenial, but which exposed him to misrepresentation and caused him considerable inconvenience. That he was called upon to undertake corrections in a new edition of the Book of Common Prayer was a natural tribute to his growing fame as a liturgiologist. His enemies [1] loudly insisted that he had seriously tampered with the text, with the object of bringing the language and doctrinal standard of the Liturgy more in line with his own views. Cosin meets the charge in a letter addressed to Laud, in the opening sentences of which the fierce protagonist complains almost peevishly of this recoil of his own invective and takes a somewhat mean refuge under the royal wing.

"RIGHT REVEREND AND MY RIGHT HONOURABLE GOOD LORD; my duty in most humble wise remembered.

"The licentious libells lately printed without license, and vented out into all parts against me, have made me the subject of everyman's censure; and by them that either doe not know, or doe not affect me, I am, I know not how heavily and how hardly burdened. But being long since inured to such kinds of injurie and slander, I am the better fitted to bear it now. . . . Howsoever, doe what I can, I shalbe censur'd still; if I hold my peace for peace sake, there are enough that will take it as a most certain argument that I lack what to say in mine own defence; and if I doe but open my mouth, to say my Creed for truth's sake, there are enough to make angry informations

[1] Burton and Prynne. See below, p. 53.

against me that I cannot be quiet. But in the judgment of grave and sober men, I trust my credit shalbe neither one way nor other impayred, and if I may find patronage and approbation *above*, it shall not much move me what they doe or say *beneath*. For which purpose I most humbly beseech his Sacred Majestie, the only Supreme Governour . . . all to continue his gracious protection over me; and your Lordship's goodness to be a meanes for the same. It is his gracious defence against the overgrowing faction, more than any private revenge, that I seek against these two barking libellers, whose chastisement I am bound to leave to their government and autoritie that they have so notoriously and impudently also abused.

"The accusations which they bring against me about altering of the Common Prayer Book, your Lordship can best tell how peevish and vague they be; specially if you have called for that booke from the King's Printer, which they say I have so materially noted. Some marginall directions indeed I wrote at the instant request of Bill and Norton, to be a help to them in the amending of such faults and omissions in their several volumes, for which they had bin a little before schooled by your Lordship, upon warrant and command from his Majestie. Notes for other alterations I made not, unlesse it were here and there for the beautifying of the book with sundry characters and fairer letters than before, or for the printing of the *Pater noster* at large. There were divers false and misnamed lessons noted, [*In margin.*—At the 1 Lesson at Evensong upon the day of Circumcision, and the 1 Lesson at Mattins upon the day of Epiphanie: the first of these ending where it

should begin; and the 2nd most improperly set for a *proper* lesson, being the xl., whereas it should be the lx., of Esay, by which transposition of one letter the people in many churches are told of S. John Baptist, when they sholde heare of the Gentils coming to Christ] which in the great book they have not yet amended, and in the Calendar, where they begin to reckon the kalends of, or before, every month, they have let the name of the month stand still in the same character and in the same order with the Saints dayes, as if Februarie and Hilarie were sainted both alike.

"For the adding of the Ordination Booke (as I often acquainted your Lordship and my Lord of Winton), it was grounded upon the statute, An Act of Parl. made 8° Eliz. c. I. . . . whereby the Book of Ordination was to be, and was accordingly annexed, added, and printed to and with the Book of Common Prayer, as also to have the same force, vigor, and autoritie."

There is an interesting reference to this employment in Cosin's Second Series of Notes, where he wrote:

"The word 'all' here [in the Ornaments Rubric—'at all times, etc.'], had been divers years omitted in the editions of this book, contrary to the true copy of it set forth in the first years of Queen Elizabeth (which was done either by the negligence of the printer or upon design), until King Charles I., in the first year of his reign, commanded it to be restored, and sent me to his printing-house to see it done; ever since which time it has so continued." [1]

[1] *Works*, v. 231.

It is curious that Cosin makes no reference to the main accusation levelled against him: that he "purged out 'ministers,' and put in 'priests,' of purpose to bring in Mass."[1] This is, no doubt, what he would have liked to do; but Mr. Lathbury clears him of this charge:

"I have the editions of the following years, 1604, 1605, 1609, 1615, 1622, 1625, 1633, 1636, 1637, 1639, and 1649, with some others. . . . It is clear that there was no design in the matter. And it is probable that the word 'priest' or 'minister' was substituted by the printer at his own discretion, or as a matter of indifference."[2]

It is not improbable that Cosin was responsible for the change made about this time in the Prayer for the Royal Family. This prayer, as first used in James I.'s reign, opened with the words, "Almighty God, which hast promised to be a Father of Thine Elect and of their seed"; but, since King Charles had no issue when the State Prayers were revised early in his reign, the invocation was altered to its present form, "Almighty God, the fountain of all goodness." The change first attracted wide attention when it appeared in the ill-fated Scottish Prayer Book of 1637, of which Fuller said in his *Church History* that the Scots "charged Archbishop Laud as the principal and Dr. Cosins for the instrumental compiler thereof."[3] By the Eng-

[1] Prynne's *Brief Survey*, p. 99. Burton makes the same accusation.

[2] *History of Convocation*, p. 270.

[3] It is now known, of course, that it was, in the main, the work of the Scottish Bishops, Maxwell and Wedderburn.

lish Puritans it was denounced as an attempt to rid the Prayer Book of the word "elect," which "disturbed the favourers of Popish Arminianism." In vain Laud pointed out that, in the original invocation, no reference was intended to God's election in the sense taught by Calvin and that no attempt had been made to remove the word from other collects, such as that appointed for All Saints' Day: another charge was laid up for the great indictment which was to bring the hated prelate to the scaffold on Tower Hill.

But the forefront of all Cosin's offences was the compilation of his *Book of Devotions*. How he came to undertake this work is explained to us, on Cosin's authority, by the diarist Evelyn: [1]

"At the first coming of the Queen into England, she and her French ladies were often upbraiding our religion that had neither appointed nor set forth any hours of prayer or breviaries, by which ladies and courtiers, who have much spare time, might edify and be in devotion, as they had. Our Protestant ladies, scandalized it seems at this, moved the matter to the King, whereupon his Majesty presently called Bishop White to him and asked his thoughts of it, and whether there might not be found some forms of prayer proper on such occasions, collected out of some already approved forms, that so the Court

[1] October 1st, 1651. Jeremy Collier, in his *Eccl. Hist. of Great Britain* (Lond. 1841), viii. 26, says that it was written "at the request of the Countess of Denbigh, the Duke of Buckingham's sister. This lady being then somewhat unsettled in her religion and warping towards Popery." The two accounts are not inconsistent.

ladies and others (who spend much time in trifling) might at least appear as devout, and be so too, as the new-come-over French ladies, who took occasion to reproach our want of zeal and religion. On which the Bishop told his Majesty that it might be done easily and was very necessary; whereupon the King commanded him to employ some person of the Clergy to compile such a work, and presently the Bishop naming Dr. Cosin, the King enjoined him to charge the Dr. in his name to set about it immediately. This the Dean told me he did, and, three months after, bringing the Book to the King, he commanded the Bishop of London to read it over and make his report; this was so well liked that (contrary to former custom of doing it by a chaplain) he would needs give it an *imprimatur* under his own hand."

The howl of denunciation with which this book was received by the Puritans, and the remarkable popularity[1] which it enjoyed for many generations amongst Englishmen of the opposite school of thought, render a somewhat full account of it necessary here. It falls into

[1] Five editions were published before Cosin's death. In 1681 Dean Granville recommended it as a "book which hath been, is, and will be, in reputation among the more devout and knowing Christians (notwithstanding all the prejudice that some have against it) and is made good use of not only by a multitude of understanding and well grown Christians, but by sundry eminent and godly divines of the Church of England" (*Letters*, Surtees Society, p. 65). The tenth edition was issued in 1719, an eleventh in 1838, and the last in the Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology (1845). It is pleasing to recall that the saintly Bishop Armstrong of Grahamstown spoke of it as most valuable (*Memoir* [1857], p. 44).

three main divisions, the first being introductory, with a Preface, tracing all Christian prayer to the Lord's Prayer and stating the objects which the compiler had in view: these were to discourage the use of—

"extemporal effusions of irksome and indigested prayers . . . that when we speak to or call upon the awful Majesty of Almighty God, we might be sure to speak in the grave and pious language of Christ's Church, which hath evermore been guided by the Spirit of God, the Holy Ghost; and not to lose ourselves with confusion in any sudden, abrupt, or rude dictates, which are framed by private spirits and ghosts of our own. . . . The second is, to let the world understand that they who give it out and accuse us here in England to have set up a new Church and a new Faith, to have abandoned all the ancient forms of piety and devotion . . . that these men do little else but betray their own infirmities. . . . The third is that they . . . whom earnest lets and impediments do often hinder from being partakers of the Public, might have here a daily and devout order of Private Prayer . . . not employing themselves so much to talk as to practice religion. . . ."

This introductory section also contains a Kalendar and a Table of Feasts and Fasting-days, both of which had a marked influence on the revision of the Prayer Book in 1661. The second part of the book aimed at instruction, its more important features being a fairly full explanation of the Commandments (with a view to self-examination), and various lists, such as The Precepts of the Church, The Sacraments of

the Church, The Theological Virtues, The Gifts and Fruits of the Holy Ghost, The Spiritual and Corporal Works of Mercy, The Beatitudes, The Deadly Sins with the Contrary Virtues, and The Four Last Things. But the main portion of the book is devotional, though even here short didactic sections are interspersed. The Devotions are grouped under eight heads : (1) Those intended for daily use, founded on the ancient Hours of Prayer. (2) The Collects from the Prayer Book, with liturgical notes on the various seasons of the Christian Year. (3) Eucharistic devotions. (4) Penitential devotions, with a view to auricular confession and sacramental Absolution. (5) Prayers for the King and Queen, reminding us that the manual was intended primarily for use in Court circles. (6) Prayers for the Ember Seasons, one of which was inserted in the revised Prayer Book of 1661. (7) Devotions for use in sickness. (8) Miscellaneous prayers and thanksgivings (*e.g.* for parents and children).

The only detail which need delay us, before passing on to consider the special objects of the Puritan attack, is the spirited rendering of the *Veni Creator*, " Come, Holy Ghost, our souls inspire," which has found its way into the Prayer Book and is one of the most popular hymns with our modern congregations at Whitsuntide. It is a singularly happy piece of translation, sacrificing mere accuracy to the expression of the original ideas in an English version which is a noble specimen of the vernacular and yet in some subtle way suggests its Latin origin.

The other pieces of translation in the manual are less successful, and the original efforts in verse are, for the most part, sorry stuff. The hymn for the King is, perhaps, worth quoting :

" Great God of Kings,
Whose gracious hand hath led
Our sacred Sovereign's head
Unto the throne
From whence our bliss is bred ;
Oh, send Thine Angels
To his blest side,
And bid them there abide,
To be at once
His guardian and his guide.
Dear be his life ;
All glorious be his days ;
And prospering all his ways,
Late add Thy crown
To his peace and praise.
And when he hath
Outlived the world's long date,
Let Thy last change translate
His earthly throne
To Thy celestial state."

Less influenced by the poetry of Donne, but with a rugged utility not to be despised, is the " Admonition before we go to Sleep " :

" Permit not sluggish sleep
To close your waking eye,
Till that with judgment deep
Your daily deeds you try.
He that his sins in conscience keeps,
When he to quiet goes,
More desperate is than he that sleeps
Amidst his mortal foes."

The general Puritan *gravamen* against the book may be stated in Dr. Gardiner's words :

"The devotion of Cosin was as precise and methodical as the logic of a Puritan's creed. In it every external form was to be taken advantage of to quicken the aspirations of the soul. Classification and arrangement have here a supreme importance. . . . The gulf between this religion and the religion of the ordinary English Protestant was wide and deep. As the central point of the Puritan system lay in preaching and conversion, the central point of the system of their opponents lay in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. In preparing for it Cosin lay stress upon the words in the Prayer Book in which those who require counsel and comfort are admonished to seek out some discreet minister of God's Word, in order that they may receive absolution from him, though he never thought of proposing that such applications should be general or compulsory. For the Communion Service itself he provided a form of words to be repeated by the worshipper 'prostrate before the Altar,' whilst he spoke of a real though spiritual presence of Christ in the Sacrament itself, and reminded Christians that they were here enabled to offer 'a sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving' as a memorial of the sacrifice of the Cross. Such a doctrine would offer a refuge to many who but for it would have fled from the uncongenial teaching of Puritanism into the arms of the Church of Rome. It would gather round it all the growing love of æsthetic decoration, of colour, and of music. Beyond that it appealed to one whole side of human nature, its weakness, its dependence upon outward surroundings, its need of a curb upon irreverence and thoughtlessness. On the other hand, to men of a strong and high-souled temperament it was nothing but Popery in dis-

guise, bringing the spirit under outward and material bondage." [1]

This is a very fair statement by one to whom the book is uncongenial and seems to have a dangerous tendency; but it was attacked in the most violent manner by two men, who (on the admission of Dr. Gardiner) "had no broad intelligence or spiritual insight." Henry Burton, Rector of St. Matthew's, Friday Street, called his attack *A Tryall of Private Devotions, or a Diall for the Houres of Prayer.* It consisted of a dull and unintelligent dialogue between "Curia," who had sent "Charis" a copy of Cosin's book to read, and "Charis," whose chaplain, Johannes, produces a writing on the book for "Curia" to read.

The other and more important attack makes much more entertaining reading. It was entitled—

A Briefe Survay and Censure of Mr. Cozens his Couzening Devotions. Proving both the forme and matter of Mr. Cozens his booke of Private Devotions, or the Houres of Prayer, lately published, to be meerely Popish: to differ from the private Prayers authorized by Queene Elizabeth 1560: to be transcribed out of Popish Authors, with which they are here paralleled: and to be scandalous and prejudiciall to our Church, and advantagious onely to the Church of Rome.

By WILLIAM PRYNNE, Gent. Hospitii Lincolniensis.

Matt. vii. 15, 16. Beware of false Prophets. . . . Ye shall know them by their fruits.
2 Cor. xi. 14, 15. For Satan himself is transformed . . . according to their works.

[1] Gardiner, *Hist. of England*, vii. 11. Elsewhere he speaks of "the feminine neatness of Cosin's devotional exercises"; but surely this was not an inappropriate characteristic of a manual compiled, by special request, for ladies.

Prynne, who (like Burton) was later a victim of the notorious Star Chamber, had a marvellous gift for discovering wickedness lurking in secret places. He had already denounced the heinous iniquity of drinking healths and had detected latent vice in the possession of long hair. He also plumed himself, apparently, on an aptitude for playing on words and had published his *Health's Sickness* and *Unloveliness of Lovelocks* before he had the inspiration of *Cozening Devotions*. In the preface of his *Brief Survey and Censure* Prynne speaks of "that virulent and popish poison, which is couched in the veins and cloked under the cowl and saintlike habit of those new Devotions." In the main body of the book he falls foul of the frontispiece (a Jesuitical I.H.S), the title (*The Hours of Prayer*), and various similar items which "stink of Popery"; but the more serious objections to the book will be best enumerated when Cosin's defence is reached. Prynne, however, does not confine himself to the book in question: his range extends to such matters as candles at Durham Cathedral, Cosin's friendship with Mountague, and "his ingrossing of Popish Prayer Books, Portuasses, and Devotions, for sundry years, and his curious and costly binding and stamping them after the Popish manner"—an interesting sidelight on Cosin's liturgical studies and bibliomania.[1]

Bishop Neile (now of Winchester) seems to have been frightened by the storm which Prynne and his friends had raised, and he forwarded

[1] See pp. 105, 186 ff.

Cosin a list of the charges made against the book, for a rejoinder. Cosin, in his reply,[1] points out that I.H.S. is simply Jesus "with letters abbreviated" and that—

"it is a Name of all others the most comfortable that we can either think or look upon in the frontispiece of a Prayer-Book; for it giveth us occasion to consider that all our prayers which we are to make must be made in the Name of our Saviour. . . . Hours of Prayer were in use among the best Christians long before Popery came in. . . . Why not the *Hours of Prayer* as well as the *Crumbs of Comfort*, a book lately published with that title?"

He finds no difficulty in rebutting the objections to his Kalendar and his explanation of the Decalogue, nor in repudiating the charge that he had enjoined "confession three times a year at least under pain of damnation." As to the Sacraments,[2] he claims that his teaching was founded strictly on the Catechism and Articles, and he adds, with justice:

"It is a calumny to say that the Book maketh mention of seven sacraments promiscuously . . . most evident it is that the Church of England, in a large sense, hath given unto these mysteries the name of Sacraments divers times, as in her Homily of the Sacraments. . . . And indeed it

[1] *State Papers*, Domestic, Charles I., lxv. 72.

[2] This seems to have been the sorest point. Archbishop Abbot writes, "Cosens put out his treatise, which they commonly call *The Seven Sacraments*, which in the first edition had many strange things in it, as it seemeth."—Stuart Tracts (from the *English Garner*), ed. Seccombe, p. 343.

cannot be denied but that, next after Baptism and the Lord's Supper, the Church of England hath ever given a pre-eminence and a most reverend regard to these five sacramental mysteries of our Christian religion."

He stood his ground on the question of the priest's Absolution:

"We magnify God for giving this power unto men (John xx.), as to all priests it is given in their ordination. And they do it *authoritative* too, though by a delegated authority from God, not original in themselves. And though novel-minded men would fain have these holy and religious mysteries forgotten, yet, thanks be to God, it will not be, Who of His great mercy and goodness hath still and will no doubt for ever preserve them in His Church among us."

On the question of Prayers for the Dead Cosin is rather evasive, first laying the blame on the printer (he was too careful a proof-corrector to pass a mistake so liable to misconstruction), and then adding:

"Besides the substance of these two prayers be nothing else but what we all use to say, even after we hear a man is dead, 'God's peace be with him,' and 'God send him a joyful resurrection,' which kind of prayers for the dead the Archbishop of Armagh[1] doth highly approve and acknowledge to be the old and perpetual practice of the Church of Christ."

In the second edition Cosin inserted a plain

[1] James Ussher, whose theology was acceptable to the Puritans.

direction that the prayers in question were to be repeated until the soul be departed; but he gained nothing by the concession, for Prynne declared that "this doth only evidence and make clear his guilt; for if there were no apparent Popery in it, why should he purge it out?"

But it was not merely with private individuals that Cosin had to deal in this matter. The affair was taken up by the House of Commons, which gladly seized an opportunity of converting itself into a theological debating-society. Nor was it willing to let the matter drop even after the King had issued a special pardon to the accused. In the famous session of 1629 the House resolved to inquire into the pardons lately granted,[1] and its attention was especially centred on Cosin, on account of the violent disputes which had disturbed the Chapter of Durham.

One of the Prebendaries of Durham, Peter Smart, who (in Dr. Gardiner's words[2]) was "an inaccurate, if not a consciously mendacious, reporter of things which had passed before his eyes," brought a long series of attacks on his brother-prebendaries to a climax with a sermon preached in the Cathedral on July 27th, 1628, on the text, "I have hated them that hold of superstitious vanities." This sermon, which can only be described as outrageous, was subse-

[1] The other pardons concerned Mountague (for the *Appello Cæsarem*), and Sibthorpe and Manwaring (for their sermons in favour of non-resistance to royal commands).

[2] *Hist. Eng.*, vii. 45.

quently published in Edinburgh under the title :

The Vanitie and Downe-fall of Superstitious Popish Ceremonies : or a Sermon preached in the Cathedrall Church of Durham, by one Peter Smart, a Praebend there, July 27, 1628. Containing not only an Historicall Relation of all those severall Popish Ceremonies and practises which Mr. John Cosens hath lately brought into the said Cathedrall Church : But likewise a punctuall confutation of them ; especially of erecting Altars and cringing to them (a practise much in use of late) and of praying towards the East.

Ps. iv. 2. O yee sonnes of men, how long will ye turne my glory into shame ? how long will you love vanitie and seek after leasing ?
Phil. iii. 18, 19. For many walk . . . mind earthly things.

In the Preface, which takes the form of a " Narration of some notorious acts and speeches of Mr. John Cosens and some others of his companions," he again especially singles out Cosin :

" We doubt not but that the world hath heard of Mr. John Cosens his speculative and theoretical Popery, which he hath audaciously broached in his Book of Private Devotions, or the Hours of Prayer, which book one Mr. Burton, a zealous Minister, and Mr. Prynne, a private gentleman, have largely answered ; though we hear they were but ill rewarded for their pains ; both of them being troubled for these their orthodox books by your high Commissions, who strain, it seems, at harmless gnats, yet swallow camels. We have therefore thought it our bounden duty as to publish this worthy sermon ; so to inform the world in particular how this Cosens hath turned these his Popish theories and speculations into practice."

After a particular statement of Cosin's enormities, he finishes the indictment by insisting that Cosin is leading others (parish priests in the diocese) astray, *e.g.* "One Mr. Francis Burgonie, Parson of Wermouth."

"Our prayer, our desire, therefore, to this present assembly of Parliament is but this: *Pereat unus, ne pereamus omnes.* Let Mr. Cosens, with all his great abettors and disciples, rather perish with their pardons (which we hear his potent bishop-patron, who should have rather procured them an halter than a pardon, had he any spark of love to your religion in him, hath of late procured) than that both our States and Churches should perish by their Pardons, which can never expiate nor disannul these great offences."

In the sermon itself Cosin is described as "our young Apollo, who repaireth the Quire and sets it out gaily with strange Babylonish ornaments." Those who agree with him are "the Whore of Babylon's dastardly brood, doting upon their mother's beauty, that painted harlot of the Church of Rome"; they are also "Balaams, which lay stumbling-blocks in your way, to make you fall into spiritual fornication, telling you, when you bow to the Altar [which elsewhere is called 'a damnable idol'], you worship God, not the Altar."

Surtees[1] says this was "only one overt act of a long series of aggression on all his brethren

[1] *Hist. of Durham*, I. cvii.

of the Cathedral; his *Epithalamium* is in a style equally virulent:

> Enarrabo quibus Christo servitur in alto
> Fano Antichristi formis et ritibus, etc.
> . . . Audacis felice superstitione Cosini.

The Dean and Chapter felt that such profane scurrility had gone far enough: they took immediate action after the sermon, and within a few hours Smart found himself suspended *ab ingressu ecclesiæ*, his prebendal stall being soon afterwards sequestered. Here Cosin's action, except as a defendant, ended; and if Smart was in any way the victim of malicious persecution, as his friends insisted (though it seems quite impossible to take that view on an impartial examination of the whole affair), Cosin certainly cannot be blamed for his subsequent misfortunes: Smart himself accused Lindsell, later successively Dean of Lichfield and Bishop of Peterborough, of being "the principal composer of those spiteful and slanderous London and York articles"; while Cosin stated at a later period that he had earnestly entreated for him "that, upon any due sense of his fault, he might be quietly sent back to us again, in the hope that he would hereafter live in better peace and concord with us." [1]

Meanwhile Smart had hurled defiance at the Chapter by preferring an indictment against the principal prebendaries at the summer assizes. But Cosin was able to report the failure of his

[1] *Works*, iv. 396.

application to Laud in a letter, dated August 19th, 1628:

"RIGHT REVEREND AND MY VERIE HONOURABLE GOOD LORD,

"Since the copie of Mr. Smart's sermon was sent unto your Lordship, he hath, beyond all example or expectation, preferred four Indictments against us, at these last Assizes here in Durham: one, that we place our Communion-table the wrong way; another that we stand up and sing the Creed after the Gospell; a third, that we use waxe lights and tapers; and a fourth, that Mr. Burgoyne hath set up an altar in his church at Wearmouth. All which were by him suppos'd and urg'd to be superstitious or unlawfull ceremonies, and contrarie to the Act of Uniformitie, etc. A great noise here was about it, and tongues began to walk at large, but they had done o' the suddaine; for the Grand Jurie found nothing, and the Judge, Sir James Whitlock, with whom they consulted (as the use is) rejected the Indictments in open court, letting the country know that he knew no law whereupon they should be grounded, and adding that the man deserved no small punishment who in this unwonted sort, had gone about to disgrace the Church, and to dishonour the solemnitie of God's service there, where himself had been both an eare and an eye witnesse that all thinges were done in decencie and in order; urging, further, the commendation and defence of those particulars against which he tooke exception whose spleene was too big for his brayne. But since this device would take no effect, (unless it were shame to him that invented it) we are threatened with further complaints, and he sticks not to professe it

openly that he will fetch us all into higher Courts than these: neither will the furie of so hot a spirit be stayed till he hath set all on fire, unlesse he be cool'd by autoritie. . . ." [1]

As Smart remained contumacious, the Ecclesiastical Commissioners for the Province of York, before whom he had been convened, transferred his case to the High Commission Court of the Province of Canterbury, which was likely to be a more impartial tribunal.

It was at this point that the House of Commons took up the matter, not so much at first with reference to the ceremonial disputes as to another scrape into which the luckless Cosin had fallen. It was a charge, raked up some months after the alleged offence, that, at a dinner given by the Dean and Chapter of Durham, Cosin had made use of the following words: "King Charles is not supreme head of the Church of England next under Christ, nor hath he any more power of excommunication than my man that rubs my horse's heels." To us in these days it is almost incredible that such a charge, even if true, should have been taken seriously; but different times, different customs, and Cosin was really alarmed, no doubt with good reason. He wrote off to Laud, whose cares must have been interminable.

RIGHT REVEREND AND MY VERY HONOURABLE GOOD LORD:

I am full loth to trouble your Lordship whose cares and imployments I know to be so

[1] *Corr.* i. 144–5.

many and so great, but that necessitie constreyneth me, and I trust shall plead with your goodnes for my pardon. There is a sonne of Belial and a sollicitor of Mr. Smart's at London [*In margin.*—They call him Thomas King and is commonly here known by the name of Tom Fame] that hath invented an incredible slander of me, and informed it to Mr. Attorney General, of mere purpose to disgrace and loade me with troubles. The information is, that about three-quarters of a year since I should deny the King's Supremacie and speak those irreverent words of it which I abhorre to name or thinke. Whereupon Mr. Attorney hath been pleased to direct his letters hither to Sir Wm. Bellasis, our High Sheriffe, and to Mr. Deane of Durham about it, requiring them to let him know what they themselves, or others worthy of credit, upon their examination can say to it; that if the accusation be true, he may (as his office is) proceed against me and cause me to be sent for; having already acquainted his Majestie with it, whose high displeasure I have deservedly incurr'd unlesse the matter be but slander only and vanitie. . . .

Cosin further committed to writing a careful account of the conversation that actually took place.[1]

" This was the summe of those speeches which passed from me in our casual discourse at Tyler's house in Durham, April 28, 1628 [*In margin.*—There were then present, Mr. Deane of Durham, Sir William Belasyse, Mr. Archdeacon Clark, etc., all sitting at table friendly together].

[1] *Corr.* i. 147; cf. *Works*, iv. 371.

"1. The first question being put (upon occasion of some discourse betweene Mr. Robson and me about the Canon Law) from whom the power of excommunication proceeded, I answered 'that we had our power of excommunication from Christ': and Mr. Pleasance interposing that we had it from the King, and that he might excommunicate as well as wee, this I said:—

"'That no man ever said or held it before him, that our Church disclaim'd it, that it was a slander laid upon us by the Papists; that the exercise of it indeed was under the King, but the power of it only from Christ, and by virtue of Holy Orders. And lastly, that our Kings had never taken any such power upon them.'

"2. The second question (upon occasion of the former) being presently made by Mr. Pleasance, 'How the King then cold be said to be Head of the Church?' I demanded of him, 'Who said it now? for the lawes said it not, the Canons said it not, our best writers said it not, specially in his sense, Queen Elizabeth refus'd it, our Kings since lik'd it not, that the oath of Supremacy itself express'd it not, that in my judgment [*In margin.*—Here was I questioned why I used not the title of Head of the Church in my prayer before my sermons] it was unsafe for us private men to set forth any other title of the Kg. then what himself or his state has ordeyned, that the stile was the more misliked (howsoever in a generall sense it might be well enough interpreted) because the Pope's flatterers had given it to him, and because it doth most properly belong unto Christ, Who was the only Head of His Church, precisely taken, which is but one bodie itselfe, and therefore not capable of many heads. And lastly, that they did but cause themselves to be pittyed or con-

demned; whosoever did affirme that we gave power of administering the Sacraments, or of excommunication unto Princes themselves, whom, nevertheless, we acknowledged (and I would be as redy to maintain and set forth as any man) to be Supreme Governor both of Church and State, and that by their power of supreme dominion they might command churchmen at any time to doe their office, or punish them for the neglect of it.' I added further, to Mr. Robson's sayings, 'That externall co-action, indeed, whereby men were forc'd to obey the jurisdiction of the Church, was only from the King, but the power of spiritual jurisdiction itself was from Christ, Who had given it unto His Apostles, and they to their successors in ordination.'

"This was the utmost of that I said: and being urged as I was in a company of schollers and other understanding men, I think I shold have betrayed the truth if I had said lesse. The whole companie, or the best of them, often interposed and assented to what I spake; unless it were Mr. Pleasance and G. Walton. But as for any irreverent words of his Majestie, my most gracious Lord and Sovereign, they yet did never, and never shall they come either into my mouth or into my heart.

"JOHN COSIN."

This may be accepted as a fairly accurate statement, especially as Cosin's innocence was solemnly attested on oath by Sir William Bellasis, the High Sheriff, Archdeacon Clark, and several prebendaries who were present; and yet one cannot help thinking that Cosin probably did, in the heat of the argument, let fall some

such words as those reported—they have a distinctly Cosinesque ring. His loyalty to the King, however, and his acceptance of the Royal Supremacy, were above suspicion, and Charles very properly ordered the Attorney-General to drop the prosecution.

But this by no means suited the book of the House of Commons, which was delighted to have a case in which it might pose as the vindicator of the King's prerogative and, at the same time, deal a blow at a hated "Arminian." Eliot threw himself into the matter with enthusiasm, and accused the Attorney-General of stifling a charge of high treason, an accusation which Heath had no difficulty, of course, in rebutting. Balked in this direction, the House turned upon Neile, who had procured a pardon for Cosin in the last session. In the debate which followed Oliver Cromwell made his maiden speech, which consisted of a paltry piece of gossip about Neile.[1] This set the whole House agog with the most childish reminiscences. Sir Robert Crane recounted how "a very honest man and a good divine" had told him that Cosin had actually been seen, during a celebration of the Holy Communion, reading a work called *The Preparation for the Mass*; and Waller raked up the old story of his tampering with the Book of Common Prayer. A Committee of Religion was then appointed, which condemned Cosin's *Book of Devotions* to be burnt and ordered him to be suitably punished as an "author and abettor of Popish and Arminian innovations."

[1] Gardiner, *Hist. Eng.*, vii. 55.

However ready we may be to honour Eliot and his supporters as champions of constitutional liberty, it is impossible to respect them for their actions in ecclesiastical squabbles such as these. Cosin was evidently, or at least believed himself to be, in very real danger; and from some minutes of Parliamentary proceedings among the Allgood MSS., quoted in the *Durham Acts of Commission* (Surtees Society, p. 200), we learn that—

"Cossens, the seven sacramentary man, is accused of no less than high treason, lying hid a whole year (by connivance of some great men) unpunished: the substance of his accusation is for denying the King's supremacy of our Church . . . and yet hath procured a certificate to the parliament of his honesty. It is thought that Neile, Bishop of Winchester, will hardly save his credit for setting a gloss and cloking so foul an offence. . . . Cossens is sent for and durst not yet appear, notwithstanding he is a Convocation man. The advantage the House hath against those above-named, is because their pardons are not enrolled in the Chancery."

Cosin, however, escaped the Parliamentary clutches on this occasion; before further action could be taken, the session of 1629 came to its dramatic close, and the House was dissolved, not to assemble again for eleven years. When those years had passed, Cosin was promptly before the Commons once more, and this time with more disastrous results.

The disputes at Durham still went on merrily. Smart was implacable, and in July again pre-

ferred his indictment at the assizes to be held before Justices Yelverton and Trevor. Yelverton was known to be a Puritan of a blustering type; and, in a conversation held with some of the prebendaries immediately before the assizes, he made it plain which side he was going to take. He declared Smart's sermon to be "a very good and an honest" one; he expressed his strong dislike of "the singing of service," repeating three or four times the words, "your whistling of service"; he thanked God "that he had been always accounted a Puritan"; and, on Cosin reminding him that Whitelock a year ago had visited the Cathedral and expressed approval of all he saw and heard, he replied, "God forbid that I should allow of all things that are done in cathedral churches." He followed this up in Court by summing up so strongly in Smart's favour that the Grand Jury was induced to find a true bill against the defendants. Next day, however, Yelverton made a complete *volte-face*, and "stayed the indictment from any further public view or prosecution"; and in the account which was forwarded to Laud,[1] he is reported to have told Smart

"that he perceived his natur and disposition was to hot, to revengeful, to fierce and violent, and, according to his name, *to smart*. That his courses against Mr. Cosin and the Church were *truly* unchristian. That through Mr. Cosin's side he strooke deepe into all the cathedrall Churches in England. That he found Mr. Cosin

[1] *State Papers*, Domestic, Charles I., cxlvii. 35.

of a better temper and disposition than Mr. Smart by farr. That he wondered at his refusall to stand at the Nicen Creed, the Bishop having counsell'd it, whose counsells were commandes to him. That if he had any power with Mr. Smart, he would advise and charge him to cease from these violent and uncharitable courses, which bred nothing but schisme and sin. That he would desire him to professe as much and he would entreat the Deane and Prebendaries, and especially Mr. Cosin, to pass by all former injuries, and to unite themselves to Mr. Smart in Christian charity. To which they all profess'd their willingness, and that none should be more glad than they to see Mr. Smart become a peaceable man.

"Mr. Cosins, upon Mr. Smart's promise to cease from any farther opposition and raiseing slanders against him or the Church, offered himself ready to forgett all former injuries. Whereupon the Judge caused them to geeve each other ther handes, and Mr. Smart made request that the Prebendaries would not prosecute him any longer at York; to which they answered that that belonged not now to them. . . ."

In November, Smart, who had been returned to the High Commission Court of York, was fined £400 and ordered to recant, and, on his refusal to do so, he was degraded from Holy Orders, deprived of all his preferments, and imprisoned for non-payment of his costs. He had previously delivered to Archbishop Harsnett of York a number of articles against "the Durham Innovators." These make most amusing reading; but they alienate any lingering sympathy which might have been entertained for Smart,

bristling with misrepresentations and passages in the very worst taste.

Among the almost interminable accusations were standing at the Nicene Creed; wearing copes of unseemly design and pre-Reformation origin; moving the altar to the east and the font to the west end of the cathedral; the use of tapers on the altar[1]; setting up a new stone altar, and "horrible profanation of both the Sacraments with all manner of music, both instrumental and vocal." Against Cosin personally, Smart brought numerous charges. He denounced his "hypocritical seeming holiness in upstartings, down-squattings, east-turnings, crossings and kissings altar-cloths and the elements of bread and wine, with frequent and profound duckings and prostrations before the Altar." He accused him of brawling

[1] Widely varying accounts (all repudiated by Cosin) were given of the number of tapers lit by him at Candlemas. Joseph Meade, writing to Sir Martin Stuteville in March 1628, said of Cosin:

"They [members of the Commons] are very hot against him, and no matter if they trounce him. He is a most audacious fellow, and I doubt scarce a sound Protestant, and takes upon him most impudently to bring superstitious innovations into our Church, as for example, Dr. Ward showed me the other day a letter he had from Durham, wherein were these words: 'Mr. Cosin was so blind at evensong on Candlemas Day that he could not see to read prayers in the minster with less than 340 candles, whereof 60 he caused to be placed round about the high altar. Besides, he caused the picture of our Saviour, supported by two angels, to set in the quire upon Bishop Hatfield's tomb. A great part, if not the most of the evil of our Church, at this present, is supposed to proceed from him and from those he wholly ruleth, as my Lord of Durham, who admireth him.'" —*Durham Acts of Commission* (Surtees Society), p. 197.

in the cathedral and maltreating worshippers, both men and women, who did not observe his customs, using most opprobrious expressions such as "pagans" and "silly-sows." He declared that he had "blamed the fathers of our Church for taking away the Mass, calling their Reformation a Deformation." He asked, "Is it not a base employment for you, John Cosin, having two fat benefices, an Archdeaconry, and a prebend, being Bachelor of Divinity, and more than a subdeacon, even a full priest, to leave all your charges of souls at sixes and sevens, and sit all day long, either at home with a tobacco-pipe in your mouth, or in the Quire chanting among singers?" And, of course, he brought up the old charges in connection with the *Book of Devotions* and the conversation about the Royal Supremacy.

Despite the muzzling of Smart,[1] discord continued to reign in the Durham Chapter. Dean Hunt, who was, perhaps, never fully in sympathy with Cosin's ceremonial views, seems to have become alarmed and to have determined to curtail the musical embellishments which had been introduced into the services. The Bishop, Howson, although a Laudian, supported the Dean; and there followed a long correspondence in which it is hard not to sympathise with

[1] A full and fair-minded account of Smart's doings and writings may be found in the late Dean Kitchin's *Seven Sages of Durham*; and the evidence of some of the Durham choirmen as to the ornate ceremonial and musical embellishments at the cathedral is given in *Hierurgia Anglicana* (1902), part ii. pp. 221 ff.

his Lordship. Cosin and Lindsell contrived that the dispute should reach the ears of Laud (*viâ* Neile), and that ubiquitous prelate promptly tackled Howson, whose account of the affair is given in the following words :

" I have according to my promise given order for the singeing of the Nicene Crede, yf it have bene omitted, for I conceaved that I had sufficiently provided for it, among thos orders I left for that Church, before my return from thence : which I now send to your Lordship to peruse att your best leysure, and submit what your Lordship mislikes to the back shete. After I heard the differences betwene the Deane and some of the Prebendaries . . . there were sent unto me, under Mr. Cosen's handwriting, certeyne Articles intituled *The conditions whereupon the Prebendaries offer agreement with Mr. Deane*, a copie whereof I send to your Lordship, together with such orders as I made for establishing the same . . . the two last, requiringe discourse, which might be various, I referred till our meetinge together at a solemne day appointed to mete in the Chapter house, when 3 only of the Prebendaries appearing, nothing was done. . . . A contempt not usually borne with in such cases, but they were my old friends, and I chose rather to suffer then right myself. . . . When that meeting was thus frustrated, I added a few more orders. . . . It may be some of those were not pleasing : yf your Lordship find any cause, I will review them. By the Xth order your Lordship may understand that I have provided for an uniformitie in the Divine service, according to the ancient use of that Church, before the later alterations, which bred all these quarrels."

Cosin then approached Laud directly, first in an interview, and then by letter.

"I am sorry that these letters cannot speak that which I know your Lordship is desirous to heere, concerning our peace with my Lord of Durham; whose displeasure (when last I took leave of your Lordship at London) I thought had been fully at an end; for so he assured me at my departure from him. But here I find it is otherwise. . . . I will crave but a little leave, and tell your Lordship briefly how it hath fared with us since my Lord's last comming to Durham; who, within a few days after, was pleased to hold his Visitacion . . . and thereat, openly before us all, to declare his great displeasure conceyved against Dr. Lindsell and myselfe, for the speech which we had with your Lordship at Fulham, and which it liked his Lordship to call *accusations and articles preferred against him* . . . and afterwards caused the letter which your Lordship sent copied out unto him to be publickly read by the Registrar, calling it a libell and a saucie letter. . . . But now more lately, after divers meetings, when I thought all anger had bin past, His Lordship was pleased to come and prosecute his Visitation in the Chapter House, and there presently to tell us that now he intended to proceed against them that had misbehaved themselves towards him, and first of all to begin with me, whom first he meant to be rid of, and to rid me out of the Church. For which purpose he had drawne certeine articles of misdemeanour against me (of which I trow the pretended articles exhibited against him to your Lordship and the letter are the greatest) which he willed his Registrar to enact and

record, with an admonition to appeare 14 dayes after. Whereupon I perceive his Lordship's displeasure lyeth hard upon me, although I have laboured many waies to observe him, and no way to give him any just cause of offence, not knowing wherein it is I shold so displease him, unless it were in being with Dr. Lindsell at Fulham, when your Lordship was acquainted with the alteration of our Church service, and in deferring my voice to the confirmation of Mr. Parson's patent. . . . I submit all my actions to your Lordship's censure, which (without sute of law) I wish might put an end to these matters, that were at first so private. But if, in the mean while, it shall please my Lord of Durham still to proceed unto my danger and prejudice, I trust it shall not offend your Lordship if, by the advice of counsell, I shall legally refuse and decline his Lordship's intended censure, having already so openly declared himself against me, and threatened to turn me out of the Church."

A month later he wrote again:

"Since the late letters wherby I was bold in my instant necessitie to implore your Lordship's favour, wee have made 3 dayes appearance before my Lord of Durham, and yesterday was the last: when without any such severe proceedings by Articles or otherwise, as his Lordship had before resolved, he was pleased to end this his Visitation; and, after some orders made for the Church, and some proposed (though not yet enacted) to bring disgrace upon us, together with an open reproofe, and a large declaration of our supposed malice against Mr. Smart first, and then against Mr. Deane of Durham, and last of all against his Lordship, to dismiss us from

further attendance. All which time wee have borne his Lordship's pleasure with silence and patience, more than was expected. And still Mr. Deane of Lichfield and myselfe are humble suitors to your Honour that you wold be pleased at his Lordship's comming to London to move him effectually (as we have often done *frustra*) for the laying downe of this his Lordship's great and undeserved displeasure conceyved against us for the discourse wee had with your Lordship concerning him, and for the letter. . . . The world takes notice here of my Lord's high discontent against us, being so often and so publikely expressed, that advantage is most likely to be made of it, both by Mr. Smart and others, to no good ends."

At last the royal aid was invoked (as was the case so often and so disastrously in those days), and Charles dictated the following terms to the Bishop:

"Right Reverend Father in God, Right Trusty, etc.:

"The maintenance of true religion being the chiefe honour and safety of our Crowne, Wee have made it our greatest care to settle the Church in order and in peace, which wee will not have disturbed, and because wee are informed of some proceedings against Augustine Lindsell and John Cosens, Doctors of Divinity, and Prebends of our Cathedrall Church of Duresme, upon pretences about ordering the publike prayers in our said Church, which may give further occasion of trouble and offence, for prevention thereof wee doe will and require you to desist with meddling with the said Augustine Lindsell and John

Cosens, or any other of the prebends of that church, till wee shall appoint some other to be joyned with you."

Nothing remained for " my Lord of Durham " but to capitulate, and he does so in a letter to Laud charged with a sense of injured innocence.

" It is true, my good Lord, that I conceave that I have suffred more than ever was offred to any Bishop of Durham. . . . It is strange that I should suffer and they complain. I cannot conceive how these erroneous informations should come to his Majestie's eares, but by my predecessor, whose 3 chaplaines they concern, and it may be that scandalous letter was procured to that purpose, and 3 names subscribed who denie that they ever saw or subscribed the letter, but were abused by the postscript only: being informed that I denied to your Lordship the truth thereof. . .

" I received a letter from the Lord President of the North, of 3 sides of paper, full of like misinformations. . . . But if your Lordship's hand be in that letter, I can make better construction of yt, viz. that my proceeding should not give advantage to Mr. Smart. . . .

" When I rehearsed to them, first what they had done out of a factous humour, first against an ancient praebendary, for indiscretly reproving them in indiscret and unauthorised innovations. 2ly, against the Deane, (a man well respected there) espetially for obteyning, long before ther time, the Deanery by Simonie, as they pretended . . . and thirdly, had articled rideculously, and dispersed libellous writings against their Bishop, even in the time of his Visitation. . . . I added the manifold trobles

they brought upon the church and themselves, and others only lookers on. . . .

"I am told that it was reported that Dr. Cosin stood suspended by me, and some other such stuff: which puts me in mind to desire your Lordship to inform his Majestie that things much mistaken had occasioned his gracious letters; and sette me upright againe in his favour, at least in this misprision which occasioned that letter." [1]

All these dissensions in the Durham Chapter may seem of comparatively slight importance, but they bulked large in Cosin's life. They were the grounds of the attacks which drove him beggared from his native land, and the recollection of them rankled long in his breast. Years afterwards his resentment was deeply roused when a correspondent drew his attention to Fuller's remarks, in his *Church History*, on the Smart affair:

"I am to thank both you and other of my friends, that intend to vindicate me from the injury done, no less to truth than to myself, by a passage in Mr. Fuller's History; which I believe he inserted there (as he doth many things besides) upon the false reports and informations of other men, that were loath to let an old malicious accusation die, as it might well enough have done, if he had not kept it up still alive, and recorded it to posterity: whereof he is so sensible already himself, that by his own letter directed to me (more than a year since) he offered to make me amends in the next book he writes; but he hath not done it yet." [2]

[1] *State Papers*, Domestic, Charles I., cciii. 90; *Corr.* i. 207 ff.

[2] George Davenport, who was later Cosin's chaplain, told

Here Cosin did Fuller less than justice; for in the *Worthies of England* Fuller made the *amende honorable* by saying of Cosin:

"I must not pass over his constancy in his religion. . . . It must be confessed that a sort of fond people surmised as if he had once been declining to the Popish persuasion. Thus the dim-sighted complain of the darkness of the room, when, alas! the fault is in their own eyes; and the lame of the unevenness of the floor, when indeed it lieth in their unsound legs. Such were the silly folk (their understandings, the eyes of their mind, being darkened and their affections, the feet of their soul, made lame by prejudice), who have thus falsely conceited of this worthy doctor. However, if anything I have delivered in my *Church History* (relating therein a charge drawn up against him, for urging of some ceremonies, without inserting his purgation, which he effectually made, clearing himself from the least imputation of any fault) hath any way augmented this, I humbly crave pardon of him for the same. Sure I am, were his enemies now his judges (had they the least spark of ingenuity) they must acquit him, if proceeding according to the evidence of his writing, living, and disputing."

Sancroft in a letter that Cosin was "very angry," and he also informed Fuller, at the same time convincing him of his mistake. It is interesting, too, to read in a letter written by Hyde (later Charles II.'s Chancellor and Earl of Clarendon), "I pray tell me whether my Lord of Ely [Wren] doth not think that my very good friend, Dr. Cosin, hath proceeded farther than he needed to have done upon any provocation Mr. Fuller could have given him."

CHAPTER IV

WITH HIS BACK TO THE WALL

"No man of that age saw *the* truth, the whole truth; there was not light enough for that. The consequence, of course, was a violent exaggeration of each party for the time."—COLERIDGE.

HOWEVER alarmed the House of Commons may have been as to Cosin's loyalty, the King probably had no reason to doubt it when, in 1633, he passed through Durham on his progress into Scotland to be crowned. The regulation of the King's reception, and the arrangement of the services in the Cathedral, naturally devolved on the liturgical expert of the Chapter, and Cosin has left on record an account in Latin of the royal visit. Charles arrived from Auckland at 5 p.m. on Saturday, June 1st; and, having recited the Lord's Prayer, *submissa voce*, at the north door, he entered the Cathedral under a silken canopy, held by eight prebendaries in surplices. Seated on a chair near the font, he received an address of welcome from the Dean, and joined in prayers for the prosperity of his journey. Then, while the Te Deum was being sung, he proceeded to the quire, where a short service was held. After service he visited the

tombs of St. Cuthbert and the Venerable Bede,[1] and was presented by the Chapter with a rich cope (which he handed over to Laud for use in the royal chapel), and also with a petition for the Confirmation of the rights of the Cathedral Church. On the Sunday he attended the Cathedral Matins, when the Bishop of the diocese preached, but remained at the Bishop's castle for Evensong. And next day, to the delight no doubt, and at the instigation most probably, of our zealous Prebendary, a royal letter was received by the Chapter, drawing attention to certain points "which we cannot but think most unfitting for that place and altogether unseeming the magnificence of so godly a fabric." The Chapter was ordered to remove certain tenements in the churchyard, and to find seats elsewhere than in the quire for the Mayor and Corporation of Durham and for the wives of the Chapter and other "women of quality."

The royal visit seems, in fact, to have been a complete success, and Charles took an early opportunity to mark his approval of the member of the Chapter to whom that success was, doubtless, very largely due. Matthew Wren, on his appointment to the Bishopric of Hereford, vacated the Mastership of St. Peter's College, Cambridge; and, on February 8th, 1634–5, Cosin was appointed to succeed him as the head of the college which claims to be the most ancient foundation in Cambridge.

[1] Here the royal attention was drawn to the new inscription, lately composed by Cosin, but no longer *in situ* (*Corr.* i. 296).

If there was any intention of maintaining the ecclesiastical tradition of the college, the appointment was a wise one; for Peterhouse had been conspicuous in its failure to assimilate the Calvinistic tone of the University, and no taint of Puritanism was likely to have been introduced by Wren. He had recently erected the chapel, to the beautifying of which Cosin, as was to be expected, devoted much time and money. He added external adornments and internal appointments, including the angel-roof, which was the special object of the subsequent iconoclasm.[1] But Cosin was not satisfied with mere decorations: he introduced a somewhat advanced ceremonial use, which soon earned Peterhouse considerable notoriety. Prynne revels in the narration of the enormities which were practised. He tells us,[2] on the authority of a Mr. Wallis, that—

"in Peterhouse Chapel there was a glorious new Altar set up, to which the Master, Fellows, and Scholars bowed and were enjoined to bow by Dr. Cosens the Master, who set it up; that there were Basons, Candlesticks, Tapers standing on it, and a great Crucifix hanging over it. . . . That in S. John's and Peterhouse Chapels there were pictures of the Holy Ghost in form of a Dove; that in Peterhouse there was likewise a carved cross at the end of every seat, and on the Altar a Pot, which they usually called the incense-pot: that the Master, Fellows, and Scholars of that house at their entering into, and going out of the Chapel, made a low obeisance to the Altar,

[1] See below, p. 109. [2] *Canterbury's Doom*, pp. 73 f.

being enjoined by Dr. Cosens under a penalty (as they reported) to do it; and none of them might turn their backs towards the Altar going in nor out of the Chapel: that divers Scholars of other houses usually resorted thither, some out of curiosity only to behold, others to learn and practise the Popish ceremonies and orders used in that chapel: and the common report, both among the scholars of that house and others, was, that none might approach the Altar in Peterhouse but in sandals, and that there was a special consecrated knife there kept upon the Altar, to cut the sacramental bread that was to be consecrated."

And later he adds the circumstantial touch that Cosin made use of "a little boat out of which the Frankincense is poured," which had once formed part of the furniture of Bishop Andrewes' chapel. From the same source we learn that he observed the—

"canonical hours of prayer, which is the subject-matter of Dr. Cosins, his private *Devotions* or Hours of Prayer, printed three or four several times one after another, and digested into canonical hours; the practice whereof he not only there pleaded for, but likewise afterwards introduced in Peter House in the University of Cambridge (among other his Popish Innovations), as was attested upon oath by Mr. Le Greese and others." [1]

There is no reason to doubt that much of this evidence is true, and most of it, perhaps, does not thrill us nowadays as painfully as Prynne

[1] *Canterbury's Doom*, p. 208.

would have wished. A certain amount of exaggeration can easily be detected; but that incense was used is confirmed by a bill for plate printed in the Cosin *Correspondence*, which contains the item: "For to Candlesticks imbossed and all gilt over for the Chapel . . . For the Sencor, 36 oz. 4 wts. at 8*s*. the ounce is 14*l*. 9*s*. 6*d*." It is, however, an open question whether Cosin used incense ceremonially (as we should say nowadays) or merely for purposes of fumigation, as recommended by George Herbert in his *Country Parson*.

That a decidedly ornate ceremonial was introduced is quite certain; and we can imagine with what readiness the poet, Richard Crashaw (Fellow of Peterhouse, 1637–43), who refers in his Latin poems to Cosin's adornment of the chapel, would join in it, and how, conceivably, the habits thus inculcated may have set him on the road which (when the Church of England seemed quite defunct) led him finally to Rome.[1]

But during the earlier years of Cosin's rule there was an undergraduate at Peterhouse of a very different type of religion. John Hutchinson, the ideal Puritan, was educated there, and was (as his devoted wife tells us in her charming biography) "constant at their chapel, where he began to take notice of their stretching superstition to idolatry; and was courted much into a more solemn practice of it than he could admit, though as yet he considered not the emptiness

[1] In a letter written during his exile in Paris, Cosin speaks bitterly of his submission to Rome. "Of Mr. Crashaw I know too much."—*Works*, iv. 389.

and carnality, to say no more, of that public service which was then in use."

It may be noticed, in passing, that the earnest persuasion suggested by this account differs very widely from the harsh coercion reported by Prynne and others.[1]

The other college department to which his tastes would naturally attract Cosin's energies would be the library; and in this connection it is interesting to find that, in 1641, new book-cases were provided in the college library, to which, in more prosperous days, Cosin presented books to the number of a thousand, including a most valuable collection of church music, and endowed the librarianship.[2]

Nor was he likely to forget that he was responsible for the maintenance of order and discipline in the college. In Dr. Walker's *History of Peterhouse* (Lond. 1906) we are told that—

"the College Records show the nature of Cosin's 'endeavours for order.' Bachelors of Arts, and all other students above eighteen years of age, who were absent from prayers without reasonable cause approved by the Deans, were fined; younger students so offending were deprived of dinner or supper, and if persistent in their neg-

[1] It seems almost a pity that the authorities of Peterhouse did not decide to have a figure of Hutchinson (rather than Whitgift) to the left of Cosin, to match Crashaw on the right, in the beautiful window in their hall, designed by Burne-Jones and executed by Messrs. Morris.

[2] Amongst his other benefactions, Cosin founded five scholarships, the holders of which, *inter alia*, were forbidden to use hair-powder or wear perukes, and were to receive instruction in music twice a week.

ligence, *publicas in Aulâ pœnas dederunt.* Fines were likewise imposed on absentees from prælections and *de sermone Anglicano ad mensam.* For the ownership of a dog which should have entered the Chapel the mulct was five shillings, as it was for throwing filth out of a window. If in this latter case the very offender could not be detected, all in the room contributed in common to the fine. The Commemoration of Benefactors [1] and the feasts of the Church were regularly observed, the Fellows preaching in regular order."

But Cosin did not confine his attention to his own college. Laud, when he had established his right of visitation in Cambridge, found a whole-hearted supporter in the Master of St. Peter's College, who, in 1636, forwarded to the Metropolitan a paper, drawn up with the help of Dr. Sterne, Master of Jesus College. In this he states that—

"St. Mary's Church at every great Commencement is made a theatre and the Prevaricator's [2] stage, wherein he acts and sets forth his profane and scurrilous jests, besides divers other abuses and disorders then suffered in that place. All the year after a part of it is made a lumber house for the materials of the scaffolds, for bookbinders' dry fats, for aumbry cupboards, and such like implements, which they know not readily where else to put. The west windows are half blinded up with a cobbler's and a bookbinder's shop. At the East end are incroachments made by divers houses, and the Vestry is lately unleaded (they say) with purpose to let it ruin or to pull

[1] See Appendix, p. 363, below. [2] A licensed wit.

it down. The seats, many of them, are lately cooped up high with wainscot. The service pulpit is set up in the midst, a good distance below the Chancel, and looks full to the Belfry, so that all service, second service and all (if any be), is there and performed that way. The service there (which is done by Trinity College) is commonly posted over and cut short at the pleasure of him that is sent thither to read it. . . . Before our Sermons the form of Bidding Prayer appointed by the injunctions and the Canon is not only neglected but by most men also mainly opposed and misliked. Instead whereof we have such private fancies and several prayers of every man's own making (and sometimes sudden conceiving too) vented among us that, besides the absurdities of the language directed to God Himself, our young scholars are thereby taught to prefer the private spirit before the public, and their own invented and unapproved prayers before all the Liturgy of the Church. . . . In Trinity College they lean or sit or kneel at prayers, every man in a several posture as he pleases; at the Name of Jesus few will bow; and when the Creed is repeated many of the boys, by some men's directions, turn to the West door."

It was not only to disciplinary matters that Cosin drew Laud's attention; doctrinal disputes must also reach the Primate's ears. On March 12th, 1637–8, Cosin wrote to Dr. Steward, Clerk of the Closet to Charles I. (no doubt for Laud's benefit), an account of the controversy raging round a university sermon, which is curiously suggestive of Tractarian days at Oxford. The sermon was preached by Sylvester

Adams, Fellow of Peterhouse, in St. Mary's, on the text, "Whose soever sins ye remit," etc. (St. John xx. 23).

"The scope of Mr. Adams' whole sermon was to declare that confession of sins to a priest was implicitly required by his text as an act necessary, preparatory, and previous to absolution . . . in the judgment of the schoolmen and almost all antiquity confession was regarded as necessary. Some there were that so attribute all to God that they contemn His holy ordinance and make confession before a priest an unnecessary thing. . . . Such confession was in use even from Apostolic times, and the Church of England hath not abrogated it, except in some additiments and circumstances, not in substance or essence."

The attention of the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Comber, having been drawn to the sermon, he had called for a copy but had taken no further action; but his successor, Dr. Brownrigg (who, although by no means a Laudian, suffered the usual fate of episcopalians when the troubles began), had tried to persuade the heads of the colleges to force on Adams a form of submission and recantation. This, however, he had failed to carry, only five heads agreeing with him, whilst eight differed. The Vice-Chancellor thereupon had adjourned the meeting and summoned it again for a day on which he knew that certain members of the court adverse to his proposal would be unable to attend. By such management he had carried his proposition, with the result that Mr. Adams had declined to recant

and had withdrawn his intention to proceed to his B.D. degree. Cosin gives epitomes of the speeches made on both sides and reports himself to have maintained—

"that the Church of England in her 39 Articles, where it condemns all the opinions and points of Popery which he thought Mr. Adams and others were bound also to condemn, did not condemn the opinion of some men of the necessity of special confession, and that the Book of Common Prayer seemed rather to give a man liberty to be of that opinion, and not to condemn him for it . . . that his point had been a long while disputed in the Church and was likely to be so still; that it was (as he considered) the wisdom of the Church of England not to determine it, and therefore it might be dangerous for us to do otherwise, or at least to determine it under the name of the public authorized doctrine of the Church of England." [1]

When, in 1639, Cosin became himself Vice-Chancellor of the University, he was in a position to apply his views and principles to the University Church of Great St. Mary's, the condition of which he had, as previously recorded, deplored to the Archbishop. His tenure of office was marked by the erection of a screen to separate the chancel from the nave: this was described by William Cole, the great Cambridge antiquary (1714–82), as "a beautiful and lofty screen with a canopy and spire-work"; but it was defaced in 1641 and taken down in the middle of the eighteenth century. At his instance,

[1] *State Papers*, Domestic, 1637–8.

too, the side chapels were separated from the aisles by parcloses, while (if Prynne is to be believed) "Altars, Crucifixes, Candlesticks, Tapers, and Bowing to Altars were brought in."

True to his other great enthusiasm—for books and their proper housing—Cosin interested himself in the building of a university library and senate-house. A model which he had made was approved, and considerable progress was made in raising the necessary funds; but the outbreak of the Rebellion rendered the plan abortive. In happier days Cosin raised the subject again in very practical terms, offering to pay £100—

"so soon as I am ascertained that they have purchased all the houses now standing on both sides of the Regent's Walk, between King's College and Caius College, where the said Commencement House and Library are to be erected, with a large square area between them surrounded or sided with walks and arched columns, the roof thereof being covered with lead and fronted with battlements of good hewn stone, according to the pattern and dimensions set forth in the aforesaid model, and by me reposed in the University Library that now is. And I do also give assurance that after all the said houses are purchased in and pulled down, and the ground made clear for the building and erecting of the said Commencement House and Library, that I will contribute £400 more . . . if the said work shall be carried on yearly and vigorously, without stop or delay, according to the model and pattern thereof."

The project, however, came to nothing, the

present Senate House and Library being Georgian.

On April 13th, 1640, Parliament met, after an interval of eleven years, and Cosin at once received a hint of what might befall him if the House of Commons should ever get the upper hand in the State. Within a fortnight Peter Smart had presented a petition to the House for an inquiry into his wrongs, and a Committee was appointed to consider the petition; but the very brief duration of this "Short Parliament" secured Cosin a respite. Those of his friends, however, who knew what was going on in political circles, seem to have had serious apprehensions; for, in July, we find him writing to Sir John Lambe, a member of the High Commission Court: [1]

"For your own private letter, and your warning concerning myself, I am very much beholden to you, and shall ever be ready to justify myself from those scandalous aspersions you say are cast upon me. I suppose you reflect on Mr. Smart's bill of complaints. . . . But if they be questioned now anew in the High Commission I hope some promoter will appear first to exhibit the articles and pay me both my credit and my charges if he fails in his proof, otherwise the world will but wonder from whence this extraordinary evocation of myself and Dr. Beale

[1] A verse in "The Organ's Echo," printed in the *Roxburghe Ballads* (1893), vii. 613, gives a contemporary view of this Commissioner:

"You know likewise in this two or three year
Many a one for Lamb paid very dear,
And now he begins to stink for fear:
Therefore take heed, Dr. Lamb;
Alas, poor Dr. Lamb!"

[Master of S. John's] from our places in the University should proceed, especially when they neither know nor shall have means to know the reasons that your private and kind advertisement seems to give me."

As Vice-Chancellor it fell to Cosin's lot to administer the ill-advised "Etcetera Oath,"[1] which Archbishop Laud seems to have intended to be an English substitute for the "Solemn League and Covenant" of the Scots. Cosin writes, in September, to warn the Primate that "a great noise is made by them that have lost sight of it elsewhere, about the omission of the word 'Popish,' which I believe is nothing but the scribe's error, and about the uncertainty of the 'etc.,' whereat many forward men are likely to stick."

But to Cosin's biographer the chief interest of this letter lies in the personal appeal at the close.

"These times are exceedingly bad. I was

[1] "I, A. B., do swear that I do approve the doctrine and discipline, or government, established in the Church of England, as containing all things necessary to salvation, and that I will not endeavour by myself, or any other, directly or indirectly, to bring in Popish doctrine, contrary to that which is so established, nor will I ever give my consent to alter the government of this Church by Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, and Archdeacons, etc., as it stands now established, and as by right it ought to stand, nor yet ever to subject it to the usurpations and superstitions of the See of Rome." This oath was imposed by the Canons of 1640, which were adopted by the Convocations of Canterbury and York and sanctioned by the King and Privy Council, though never confirmed by Parliament. It provoked so much ill-feeling that it was suspended within a few months.

about to crave of you in two or three lines to signify his Majesty's pleasure, signified to you when I was first chosen Vice-Chancellor, to the Dean of Durham for the allowance of my dividend there this year, wherein I have been wholly tied to residence in the University. But if all be true I hear reported at all hands, I doubt there will be neither any dividend nor any Church or other place left for me in that country, where all I have to live on[1] is in the hands of the rebels. I beseech God send us better times and long preserve your grace in health, courage, and safety against the malignant enemies of the Church."[2]

The second "Bishops' War" had broken out in August, and the Scottish army, in spite of its professed intention to pay its way, found the Palatinate too easy a victim to respect. Balcanquahal, Dean of Durham, had been guilty of drawing up the "Large Declaration concerning the late tumults in Scotland," which the General Assembly at Edinburgh had condemned as false and dishonourable to God, the Church, and the Kingdom. He and his capitular friends were not likely to receive much mercy; at any rate, they fled, and the revenues of the Chapter went towards the sum of £850 a day which the Scots demanded for their maintenance.[3]

[1] Smart, in his Commonplace Book, reckons Cosin's Northern preferments as follows: "(1) A benefice of Brancepeth, about £300 per annum. (2) A benefice of Elwick, about £200 per annum. (3) A prebend of Durham, worth to him about £300 per annum. (4) An Archdeaconry of York, very commodious, without doubt."

[2] *State Papers*, Domestic, September 21st, 1640.

[3] Rushworth's *Historical Collections*, iii. 1272.

It was on the ground of his poverty that Cosin received, in November 1640, his preferment to the Deanery of Peterborough, rendered vacant by the death of Dr. Thomas Jackson, President of Corpus Christi, Oxford. This appointment was duly laid to the charge which was being accumulated against Laud. In his *History of his Troubles and Trials*, written in the Tower, Laud wrote:

"The seventeenth day of my hearing (July 5, 1644). This day I appeared again; and the first charge against me was, that I had preferred none to Bishoprics, Deaneries, Prebends, and Benefices, but men Popishly affected, or otherwise unworthy. And some they named. . . . The next was Dr. Cosin, to be Dean of Peterborough. I named four of his Majesty's Chaplains to him, as he had commanded me. And the King pitched upon Dr. Cosens, in regard all the means he then had, lay in and about Duresm, and was then in the Scots' hands; so that he had nothing but forty pounds a year by his Headship in Peter-house to maintain himself, his wife and children."

But Cosin was not destined to enjoy his Deanery in peace: in the quaint phraseology of Basire, "from thence he had the honour to be preferred to the Order of Confessors." The Long Parliament had met on November 3rd, and on the 10th Peter Smart again presented his petition. Dr. Gardiner was not prejudiced against that memorable assembly; yet he declared that—

"no unprejudiced person can go through the

records of the Long Parliament without noticing countless occasions on which the temper and prejudices of the Commons were cast into the balance of justice. A Puritan clergyman and Laudian clergyman received very different measures at their hands. Arguments which would never have been listened to, if adduced against their own supporters, were accepted as unanswerable against a Royalist." [1]

He adds, it is true, that "after all, the Long Parliament, objectionable as many of its proceedings were, had fallen far short of the tyranny of the Star Chamber." But even so, it is impossible to avoid the reflection that the treatment of Cosin was a flagrant instance of the petty absorption in trifles and of the depth of injustice to which fanaticism can drag its dupes and victims.

Smart claimed redress for his sufferings and indicted the whole Chapter of Durham; but he made Cosin the object of his main attack, and advanced four special charges against him:

1. That he took the eastward position when celebrating the Holy Communion.

2. That he had covered cushions and benches with Crosses.

3. That he had spoken scandalously against the Reformers.[2]

4. That he denied the Royal Supremacy.[3]

Cosin, in the reply which he put in, denied that he purposely turned to the east, his invariable custom being to officiate at the north

[1] *Hist. of England*, x. 215 f.

[2] See p. 71, above.

[3] See p. 63, above.

end of the table, except for the actual consecration; "nor was this any singularity in him, for divers of the prebends used so to do before his coming to that Church." The second charge he denied entirely. He declared that he had always blessed God for the Reformation, and that "the sermon complained of was directly contrary to Mr. Smart's untrue suggestion." [1] And he had no difficulty in showing that his views on the Royal Supremacy were perfectly sound and in full accord with those of Bishop Jewell, Dr. Reynolds, Mr. Camden and others.[2]

However, on November 21st Cosin was ordered into the custody of the Sergeant-at-arms, and a committee was appointed to investigate the charges against him.[3] A week later he pre-

[1] Nalson (*Impartial Collection of Great Affairs of State*, 1682, p. 792) says that Cosin subsequently produced the MS., and showed that his actual words were, "We must not think that when the Bishops took away the Mass, they took away all religion."

[2] *State Papers*, Domestic, 1640 [Nov.].

[3] In Dr. Brady's Collections (Baker MSS., xxxiv. pp. 34 ff.) we find some details of Cosin's spirited behaviour at this time. "Dr Cosins called up and put under the custody of the Sergeant or Black Rod. He gave good satisfaction at the 1st hearing; but more accusations coming upon him, he was to retire again to the same custody. . . . He hath often been before the Committee; and though wise men think he hath sufficiently answered all his adversaries' objections, yet they rest not yet satisfied. Innocency at last will (we hope) prevail against malice. . . . Kilvert, who was the great stickler against the Bishop of Lincoln (Williams), being committed to the Black Rod as prisoner together with Dr. Cosin and Dr. Layfield, said he was much beholding to the King (or the Parliament) for affording him two such chaplains in the prison. 'No,' replied Dr. Cosin, 'we are not here as your chaplains, but as your confessors or ghostly

sented a petition, asking that he might be released on bail, a favour which was granted on December 3rd; and on January 19th, 1640–1, he was bound in £2,000 and his securities in £1,000 each for his appearance upon summons. Three days afterwards the Committee presented its report, drawn up by Francis Rous, the elder [1]; and the House passed resolutions vindicating Smart, and declaring Cosin "unfit and unworthy to be a Governor in either of the Universities, or to continue any longer Head or Governor of any College, or to hold or enjoy any Ecclesiastical Promotions." At the same time the Committee was ordered to "prepare such things as may be fit to be transmitted to the Lords concerning Dr. Cosins." In other words, Cosin was to be impeached—"the very first victim (says Surtees) of Parliamentary vengeance, who suffered by vote of the House of Commons."

In mid-March Rous carried the impeachment up to the House of Lords.

"My Lords," he began, "I am commanded by the House of Commons to present to your

fathers, such as malefactors use to have before they are executed.' . . . Dr. Cosins, coming before the Committee, bowed and did obeisance to them. One of them replied, 'Here is no Altar, Dr. Cosin.' 'Why then,' said he, 'I hope there shall be no sacrifice.'"

[1] "An old gentleman of Devonshire, of a very mean understanding" (vide Clarendon, xiv. 18), who had been the Commons' spokesman against Manwaring (in 1628), and was to be the Speaker in Cromwell's first Parliament (1653). He was also the author of the popular *New Version of the Psalter*, and had perpetrated the epigram, "An Arminian is the spawn of a Papist."

Lordships a Declaration and Impeachment against Dr. Cosins, and others, upon the complaint of Master Peter Smart; which Master Peter Smart was a Protomartyr or first confessor of note in the late days of persecution."

Here he read the Articles of Impeachment, twenty-one in number; but as they have been already mentioned in Smart's previous actions and can be fairly gathered from Cosin's rejoinder, it is needless to name them here in detail. Rous then proceeded, with all the dexterity of a practised hand, to draw an appalling picture of "an army of priests with a great design of bringing Popery":

"This Army of Priests doth many ways advance the design and plots of Popery. A first way is by the subversion of our Laws and government. Our Laws and Popes cannot stand together; but either Popery must overthrow our Laws or our Laws must overthrow Popery. . . .

"A 2nd way by which this Army of Priests advanceth the Popish design is the way of Treaty; this hath been acted both by writings and conferences. . . .

"A 3rd way is a way of violence; this violence they exercise partly by secular Arms and partly by priestly Arms, which they call spiritual. . . .

"When a great man is coming his Sumpters, his Furniture, his Provision goes before, the Pope's Furniture, Altars and Copes, Pictures and Images, are come before: And if we believe Dr. Cossens, the very substance of the Mass, a certain sign that the Pope was not afar off.

"Now these fore-runners being come, if any

man resist them, fire comes out of the Brambles and devours the Cedars of Lebanon: the Army of the Priests falls upon him with their Armies of Suspension, Sequestration, Excommunication, Degradation, and Deprivation; and by these Armies hath Master Smart been opposed and undone. . . ." [1]

But the Lords could not proceed immediately to judgment for lack of the book of the Durham Chapter Acts. This eventually had to be dispensed with, as it had been either destroyed at Durham by the Scots, or lost on its way to Hull, whither the Chapter had sent their movables on the approach of the Scottish army. At last, after many postponements, Cosin and his co-defendants were given the opportunity of answering Smart's calumnies on May 28th and the following days. Cosin's answer [2] may be given in his own words:

"The answers that I gave upon oath, and justified before their lordships, were to this effect:—

"1. That the Communion-Table in the Church of Durham . . . was not set up by me, but by the Dean and Chapter there (whereof Mr. Smart himself was one) many years before I became Prebendary of that Church, or ever saw the country:

"2. That by the public accounts which are there registered, it did not appear to have cost

[1] *Mr. Rous, his Speech before the Lords at the Transmission of Dr. Cosens* (Lond. 1641. 4°.).

[2] Written some years later with reference to Fuller's report; see p. 77.

above the tenth part of what is pretended, appurtenances and all:

"3. That likewise the copes used in that Church were brought in thither long before my time, and when Mr. Smart, the complainant, was Prebendary there; who also allowed his part (as I was ready to prove by the Act-book) of the money that they cost; for they cost but little:

"4. That as I never approved the picture of the Trinity, or the image of God the Father in the figure of an old man, or otherwise, to be made or placed anywhere at all, so I was well assured that there were none such (nor to my knowledge or hearsay ever had been) put upon any cope that was ever used there among us: one there was that had the story of the Passion embroidered upon it; but the cope that I used to wear, when at any time I attended the Communion service, was of plain white satin only, without any embroidery upon it at all:

"5. That what the bill of complaint called the image of Christ with a blue cap and a golden beard . . . was nothing else but the top of Bishop Hatfield's tomb (set up in the Church under a side arch these two hundred years before I was born). . . .

"6. That by the local statutes of that Church (whereunto Mr. Smart was sworn, as well as myself) the treasurer was to give orders that the provision should every year be made of a sufficient number of wax-lights for the service of the quire during all the winter time; which statute I observed, when I was chose into that office, and had order from the Dean and Chapter by capitular act to do it: yet upon the Communion-Table they that used to light the candles (the sacrists and the virgers) never set more than two fair candles, with a few small

sizes near to them; which they put there of purpose that the people all about might have the better use of them for singing the Psalms and reading the Lessons out of the Bible: but two hundred was a greater number than they used all the church over, either upon Candlemas night or any other; and that there were no more (sometimes many less) lighted at that time than at the like festivals in Christmas holidays, when the people of the city came in greater numbers to the Church, and therefore required a greater store of lights:

"7. That I never forbad (nor anybody else that I know) the singing of the Psalms [metrical version, presumably] in the Church, which I used to sing daily there myself with other company at Morning Prayer. But upon Sundays and holidays in the quire, before the Sermon, the Creed was sung (and sung plainly for every one to understand), as it is appointed in the Communion-book; and after the Sermon was sung a part of a Psalm, or some other anthem taken out of the Scripture, and first signified to the people where they might find it:

"8. That so far was I from making any anthem to be sung of the Three Kings of Cologne, as that I made it, when I first saw it, to be torn into pieces; and I myself cut it out of the old song-books belonging to the choristers' school, with a pen-knife that lay by, at my very first coming to reside in that college. But sure I was that no such anthem had been sung in the quire during all my time of attendance there. . . .

"9. That there was indeed an ordinary knife, I confess, provided and laid ready among other things belonging to the administration of the Communion, for the cutting of the bread and divers other uses, in the church vestry; that,

when the under officers there had any occasion to use a knife, they might not be put to go to seek one abroad; but that it was ever consecrated, or so called, otherwise than as Mr. Smart and some of his followers had for their pleasure put that appellation upon it, I never heard, nor I believe anybody else that lived there among us.

"There were divers other articles of this nature in the bill of complaint, whereof Mr. Smart could not prove any one: to which I gave the like answers as I did to these. . . .

"10. Touching Mr. Smart's sermon, I made answer, and submitted his censure to the prudent and religious consideration of the Lords, whether he was not justly condemned to be scandalous and seditious by his preaching thereof: and I represented many passages in it, disagreeable to the laws of God and His Church, and repugnant to the public statutes of Parliament."

"That answer of mine," Cosin adds, "is upon record among the rolls of Parliament,[1] and was justified before the Lords, both by myself and by the very witness that Mr. Smart and his son-in-law produced there against me: whereupon his own lawyer (Mr. Glover) openly at the bar of that honourable house forsook him, and told him plainly that he was ashamed of his complaint and could not in conscience plead for him any longer: Mr. Smart in the meanwhile crying out aloud and beseeching their Lordships to appoint him another lawyer. . . . But after this (which was the fifth day of pleading between us) the case was heard no more concerning my particular, and many of the Lords said openly

[1] This statement anyone can verify who will take the trouble to consult the *Historical Manuscripts Commission, Report* iv., and the *Journals of the House of Lords.*

that Mr. Smart had abused the House of Commons with a causeless complaint against me; whereupon my lord, the Earl of Warwick, was pleased to bring me an order of the Lords' House, whereby I had liberty granted me to return unto my places of charge in the University, or elsewhere, till they sent for me again, which they never did." [1]

Smart, however, was not in a position to complain of any lack of consideration or justice from the Lords; for special counsel was provided for him, and, on July 22nd, he was restored to the vicarage of Ayliffe and the fourth prebend of Durham. But Cosin congratulates himself on the fact that he "was not called upon to pay him even a groat, nor any other that he impeached; and though he demanded many thousand pounds at the Parliament, yet Parliament gave him none." Surtees mentions that Smart subsequently "quarrelled with his own party and died in obscurity" before the Restoration. It was, perhaps, well for him that he did not live to see Cosin seated on the episcopal throne of Durham.

Meanwhile Cosin had again been haled before the House of Commons to meet a charge of having enticed to Popery a Mr. Nicholas, a Fellow of Peterhouse. He had no difficulty in proving his innocence and showing that, on the contrary, he had remonstrated and argued with the misguided don, had (as Vice-Chancellor) insisted on his reading a public recantation, and had

[1] *Works*, iv. 393 ff.

The liuely portrature of the Reuerend Peter Smart M^r: of Artes
Minister of Gods word at Bouden Prebend of Durham, & one of his
Maties High Comiscioners in the prouince of Yorke, who for prea:
ching against Popery A^no 1628 lost aboue 300^lt. peranu; and
was imprisoned in ye K^s: bench aboue a 11 yeares by the High Comission

Peter preach downe vaine rites with flagrant harte
Thy Guerdon shall be greate, though heare thou Smart
Georg: Abbot archepisco: Cant: composuit

Peter Smart, M.A. (1569-1652), Prebendary of Durham.

then expelled him from the University.[1] "However," says Nalson,[2] "the Doctor had no sort of reparation made him; which gives but a disadvantageous idea of the justice and honesty of that House."

Amidst all these buffets of fortune Cosin suffered a severe and irreparable domestic blow: on March 25th, 1642, he lost his wife, who died in childbirth. In this connection Gunton notes a curious omen:

"The day of her burial was remarkable in this, that whilst the child (a daughter christened Anne) was at the font to be baptized, the mother lay by upon the bier, to be carried presently to her grave. A pretty accident (if we may call it an accident) fell out the day before. It being the eve of the Annunciation (and none making the least question that this lady was in a fair way of recovery after her delivery, and all things prepared for the christening of the child), the Chanter, whose office it was to appoint the anthems, appointed to be sung that part of the Burial Service composed by Mr. Wilkinson, *I am the Resurrection, etc.* Dean Cosin, being then at church, and having the anthem brought him, asked the Chanter, Why he had appointed this anthem? The Chanter replied, 'It is a good anthem and you have not yet heard it.' The next morning this gentlewoman died, and that day the same anthem was sung again at her

[1] Cf. Marvell's *Works* (ed. Grosart), I. xxviii., where a letter is quoted in which an aggrieved parent mentions the papistical leanings of this Mr. Nicholas and his recantation enforced by Cosin.

[2] *Impartial Collection*, p. 792.

burial. Dean Cosin afterwards observed the *omen*." [1]

Finally, on March 13th, 1643–4, Cosin was ejected from the Mastership of Peterhouse, by warrant from the Earl of Manchester, who had been commissioned by Parliament "to purge" Cambridge and the Eastern Counties. Long before, the Commons had pronounced him unfit for his Mastership and Deanery; the crowning offence was his participation in the attempt to send the College plate to the royal mint—an attempt which had been foiled by the vigilance of Oliver Cromwell and Valentine Wanton.[2] "We live," wrote Sancroft, the future Archbishop, "in times that have of late been fatal in abating of heads. . . . But I had not thought that they would have beheaded whole colleges at a blow." [3] Cosin was succeeded as Master (*de facto*) by one who took a prominent part in the proceedings of the Westminster Assembly of Divines, Lazarus Seaman, till then a Fellow of Emmanuel College, that nursery of Puritanism

[1] *Hist. of Ch. of Peterborough*, p. 99.

[2] A sheet of paper is preserved at Peterhouse, which states (in Cosin's handwriting) that "it was ordered this day by the Master and all the Fellows then at home that the Master lending £100 for his Majesty's use, and the College chest £40, that £60 borrowed for the same use in the name of the Fellows, for which the present Fellows have given security, shall be paid by all the Fellows out of their next dividend." Dr. Walker, who quotes this in his *Hist. of Peterhouse*, tells us that Cosin, after the Restoration, set the example in replenishing the College plate.

[3] D'Oyly's *Life of Sancroft*, i. 32; cf. Gardiner's *Hist. of Civil War*, i. 303. "Twelve Heads of Houses and 181 Fellows . . . were sent adrift to shift for themselves."

which at this time supplied no less than eleven substitutes for the beheaded colleges of Cambridge.[1]

In these days of dire adversity he is hardly likely to have appreciated the lamentable humour of various brochures aimed at his defenceless head. One of these has been reprinted by Canon Ornsby[2]: it is entitled *The Doctor's Last Will and Testament, being a most pleasant dialogue between Dr. Cosin and a Fellow of his own College, desiring him to resign his Mastership.* After ribald references to the crucifix, pictures, etc., in Peterhouse Chapel, Cosin is represented as asking, "Does the altar remain still? and have ye not yet forgot to burn incense thereto, as in my time?" To which the reply is vouchsafed, "I have heard some wish that you were sacrificed herein." The doctor's next question concerns "the Triple Crown which I built in St. Mary"; and the Fellow replies that "many pray that your head may be erected there to make an even number." The Master is finally persuaded to resign his office and to make a most scurrilous will, two items of which are the bequeathing of "my Mass, Popish, and Romish books, of which I have many volumes, partly to the poor that they may warm their fingers this following winter by them on the market-hill, and partly to Tobacconists and

[1] Cf. "The Mad Zealot," in Corbett's *Poems* (ed. Gilchrist), p. 243.

> "In the house of pure Emmanuel
> I had my education,
> Where my friends surmise
> I dazzled my eyes
> With the light of Revelation."

[2] *Corr.* i. 298 ff.

Grocers," and " my Pictures and Images partly to the Apple-mongers, and partly to Husbandmen, that they may be hanged up to scare crows." " Sir," remarks the Fellow, " I think in my conscience that you will perform more commendable and laudable deeds at your departure in your will than ever you did in your lifetime."

Earlier in the Dialogue reference is made to Cosin's friendship with Finch,[1] the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal—a friendship which forms the chief point of another squib, obviously by the same hand. It is entitled *The Copy of a Letter sent from John Lord Finch, late Lord Keeper, to his friend Dr. Cosin, with a Commemoration of the Favours Dr. Cosin shewed him in his Vice-Chancellorship*, etc.,[2] and it is, perhaps, worth reprinting at considerable length.

" Kinde Doctor, if you had taken my course, you might have likewise escaped the danger that now hangs over your head. But I deplore the vicissitude of your malignant fate; yet I remember that Apothegmatical sentence of the Lyrian Horace, *Ut sementem feceris, ita metes.* For had not you sown such Antichristian seeds

[1] Finch had made himself peculiarly obnoxious by his abominable behaviour to Prynne and others in the Star Chamber. He had also delivered the notorious speech which, according to Clarendon (*Hist. of Great Rebellion*, i. 153), had " made Ship-money much more abhorred and formidable than all the commandments by the Council Table and all the distresses taken by the sheriffs of England." He had not waited to be impeached, but had fled to Holland in December 1640.

[2] Newcastle Reprints of Rare Tracts (1847).

of Popish introduction into the Church, you should never have reaped this harvest of misery. For my part, I was eagle-winged, and as soon as I perceived that lime twigs were laid for me, I did erect myself, and by the expansion of my nimble wings escaped those snares into which you are fallen. But I beseech you, Sir, let me recall our inveterate Counsel by the fresh recordation of memory: What, does your Chapel retain its former ornaments? Does the Crucifix remain? and do the Pictures and graven Images adorn it still, as in my time? Does the Altar stand still? and do not nefarious persons wish you sacrificed thereon? Does the Triple Crown which you erected in St. Mary's illustrate still the vulgar speculation? Sir, if the tumultuary imprecations of the vulgar do oppose you, yet macerate not yourself, neither let passion conquer your captive thoughts; for it is a true Apologization, *Quod tibi facere non vis, alteri ne feceris.* But you did contaminate that sentence too much, by the unjust exulceration of ecclesiastical innovations. Remember me to the Archbishop, and desire him to put my good counsel in execution, that he shall excommunicate both Houses, before they divorce him from his Spouse; but (alas) I fear his Canons do recoil and his Founders miscarry, therefore let them be new cast. Remember me likewise to Bishop Wren, and bid him strain for it, for he will be made to sing a note above Elie. . . . But, loving Dr., perhaps my pen do seem too remiss, wherefore I will contract myself in a compendiary Epitome of my thanks unto you, for all your favours shown me since the last time I was at the University, for letting me kiss the Virgin Mary's picture, and the Pope's head, and for innumerable other courtesies . . . the few admonitions and salu-

brity of counsel which I devove unto you briefly shall be these: First, That whithersoever the tempestuous wind hurrieth, you would remember to keep your head warm. Secondly, Although you climbed up to that honour upon other men's necks, have a great care that you come down with your own."

Yet another similar attack may be quoted from the lampoon in doggerel verse called *Lambeth Fair, wherein you have all the Bishops' Trinkets set to sale* (1641); the following lines are thought to refer to Cosin:

> " It now beginning to grow towards night,
> Comes a grave Doctor running in with might;
> His courage stout was somewhat now abated,
> He brings his *golden slippers consecrated*,
> And cries, ' Come buy these slippers here of mine,
> They are emboss'd with holiness divine.' "

Employment and means of subsistence being now impossible in England, the religious system of the Church he loved so dearly being in abeyance, and having no guarantee that his liberty would be respected, nothing was left for Cosin but flight. It is to be hoped that he was spared the sight of the desecration wrought at Peterborough and at Peterhouse.

In Peterborough Cathedral a troop of Parliamentarians, with Cromwell's son in command, busied themselves daily for a fortnight in destroying the stained-glass, the choir-stalls, and the altar-screen (riddling with shot a painting of our Lord in glory), in breaking down the organs (" with such a strange, furious, and

frantic zeal as cannot be well conceived but by them that saw it"), and in tearing up the Prayer Books and the lectern Bible with the Apocrypha.[1] Peterhouse Chapel suffered no less: William Dowsing, who left a journal of his sacrilegious exploits, says:

"We went to Peterhouse with officers and soldiers; and . . . we pulled down two mighty great Angels with wings, and divers other Angels, and the four Evangelists, and Peter with the keys over the Chapel-door, and about a hundred Cherubims and Angels, and divers superstitious letters in gold. . . . Above the walls was written, in Latin, *We praise Thee ever*; and on some of the images was written, *Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus*; on other, *Gloria Dei et Gloria Patri*, etc., and all *Non nobis Domine*, etc., and six Angels in the windows."

It is, indeed, a heart-rending picture of a divided Church and nation. On the one hand, the fanatical, self-opinionated Puritans, exulting in the thought that they were vindicating God's honour—"Confounded be all they that worship carved images and that delight in vain gods. O ye that love the Lord, see that ye hate the thing which is evil"; and, on the other hand, the puzzled Anglicans, equally convinced that stately ceremonial, elaborate decorations, and beautiful music were acceptable to God and desirable helps to worship, but yet with a vague misgiving that there must be some disciplinary purpose in the fate which was befalling their

[1] Gunton's *Hist. of Peterborough.*

well-loved Church—"O God, wherefore art Thou absent from us so long? Why is Thy wrath so hot against the sheep of Thy pasture? Thine adversaries roar in the midst of Thy congregations and set up their banners for tokens. He that hewed timber afore out of the thick trees, was known to bring it to an excellent work; but now they break down all the carved work thereof with axes and hammers; they have set fire upon Thy holy places, and have defiled the dwelling-place of Thy Name."

Even those of us who find it utterly impossible to sympathise with Puritanism must concede that, in their determination that all things should be done according to their own ideas of decency and order, Laud and his followers had shown far too little consideration for those to whom all ceremonies were dark and dumb and unedifying. Both sides, whatever they may have said or even believed, in act and in effect violated that highest of all rules: "Whatsoever ye do, do all to the glory of God."

CHAPTER V

IN EXILE: CONFRONTING NEW FOES

"We are troubled on every side, yet not distressed; we are perplexed, but not in despair; persecuted, but not forsaken; cast down, but not destroyed."—2 Cor. iv. 8, 9.

In the struggle with Puritanism Cosin had been decisively defeated and driven ignominiously off the field; but hostilities were not to cease, so far as he was concerned. The seat of war was changed, and the assailants were different; but the battle was as keen as ever, and his foes abroad were in a position to make his life nearly as unbearable as the enemy at home had done. The seventeen years of his exile involved one ceaseless fight for the Faith, as held by the Church of England, against the Romanising efforts of Queen Henrietta Maria and the Court of France. In this long campaign he displayed a courage and dexterity which roused the special rancour of the enemy and the heartiest admiration of his co-religionists. Thus the diarist, Evelyn, speaks of him as "one who in this time of temptation and apostacy held and confirmed many to our Church." Whilst Fuller (in his *Church History*), after blaming him, as already recorded, for his behaviour to Smart,[1] commends

[1] See p. 77 below.

him for his behaviour in France, "where by his pious living, constant praying, and preaching, he reduced some recusants to, and confirmed more doubters in, the protestant religion. Many were his encounters with Jesuits and priests, defeating the suspicions of his foes, and exceeding the expectation of his friends, in the success of such disputes." And later, in his *Worthies of England*, after handsomely admitting the injustice of his former account of the Smart affair, Fuller speaks of Cosin, in terms which were heightened, perhaps, by the sense of reparation due to an injured man, as "the Atlas of the Protestant Religion, supporting the same with his piety and learning, confirming the waverers therein, yet daily adding proselytes (not of the meanest rank) thereto."

How or when exactly Cosin reached France is not quite clear; but it was no fortuitous wandering that led him to Paris. The King had definitely appointed him as royal chaplain "to attend upon her Majesty for the constant service of that part of her household, the number of her Protestant servants being much superior to those who were Catholics."[1] And Henrietta Maria, having escaped the Parliamentary fleet which chased her out of Falmouth, had been honourably received by the Queen-Regent of France, Anne of Austria, and had been assigned quarters in the Louvre with a pension of 1,200 francs a day.

Here, then, Cosin settled in circumstances which were, at first, fairly prosperous. During

[1] Clarendon's *Hist. of Great Rebellion*, xiii. 43.

Charles I.'s lifetime the Queen scrupulously observed her husband's wishes by recognising Cosin's official position. He secured, at any rate, a competence, quarters in the Louvre, and a free hand to carry on his ministrations to the flock which had been committed to his charge. A suitable room was provided, and decently furnished, for the recitation of the Daily Offices; whilst on Sundays he officiated in the chapel in the house of the English Resident (or Ambassador), Sir Richard Browne. This Embassy Chapel might have been described at that time as the headquarters of the English Church,[1] and Cosin is reported to have " supported the honour of the Church of England in that popish country to admiration in an open chapel at Paris with the solemnity of a cathedral service.[2]

It will be as well to notice here his ordinary pastoral work. Several of the sermons which he preached in Paris during this period are extant. They are, inevitably, somewhat controversial in tone and are mainly directed against popish innovations; but they are not devoid of attacks against the other extreme, for Romanists must be shown the Catholic quality of English Churchmen. Thus, Evelyn speaks of Cosin as " perstringing those of Geneva for their irreverence of the Blessed Virgin " in a sermon preached at Paris in 1651. But passages can be found in which the preacher set himself

[1] " In the various controversies, both with papists and sectaries, our divines used to argue for the visibility of the Church from this chapel and congregation."—Evelyn's *Diary*.

[2] Dean Granville's *Letters*, Part II. viii. (Surtees Society).

rather to build up the faithful and to enhearten his fellow-Churchmen. Preaching, for instance, on Ps. cxxix. 5, he said :

"Let it not seem strange to us that such enemies there are ; for Sion will never be without them, and the best men on earth have been put to their trial with them. It is some adversity that we suffer from them ; but it is *sors sanctorum*, it hath been the lot of many a saint of God before us, and of far more worth and dignity than any we are, to be in adversity, to be persecuted, afflicted, tormented, to be robbed of goods, and lands, and lives, and all. Nor did they love Sion, either Church or kingdom, ever a whit the worse for it all the while. Sion God loved and favoured very high ; yet, how dear soever Sion is in His sight, it had no promise made but that such kind of enemies it should otherwhiles meet withal. . . . Let not this make us stumble either in our religion or loyalty, but that we may be firm to our trial and constant to our profession ; still, above all, loving the gates of Sion, that is, of our religion, more than all our other dwellings in Jacob ; which, by the grace of God, may be a fair means to bring us back again both to one and to the other, there, if it be His blessed will, to serve Him in peace and piety all the days of our life, that so serving Him we may, in the end of our days, be translated from our dwellings here below to His everlasting tabernacles above." [1]

Besides his Sunday duty and the saying of the Daily Offices, Cosin seems to have compiled a special service of intercession, a copy of which

[1] *Works*, i. 204 f.

exists in the British Museum and has been reprinted in an Appendix at the end of this volume.[1] This service was held weekly on Tuesdays, after the death of Charles I.; and apparently that part of the Court which was in actual attendance on the younger Charles at The Hague similarly observed the same day of the week, being that "on which King Charles was barbarously murdered."

As the official champion of Anglicanism, Cosin was soon plunged into active controversy, much of which can be traced in his own letters. Writing some years later to Dr. Morley, he describes a controversy on the validity of Anglican orders with Father Robinson, Prior of the English Benedictines in France, who was trying to pervert a lady at Court.

"At my first coming into France (which was about five years since), I found many of the Roman profession (both priests and others) very busy and industrious in persuading them of our religion that attended at the English Court to turn Papists. . . . When notice had been taken of my being in town, and of my coming to some other places, where I was better known in the Queen of England's Court, and where I endeavoured to defend our own religion against divers others that were sent and brought thither to oppose it, I had a special message brought me from the same person, very earnestly desiring that I would take the pains, at my first leisure, to come to the Court, where there was a business to be imparted to me of a near concernment. When I came, all the proceeding that

[1] Appendix B, p. 365.

the Prior had formerly had . . . were at large made known unto me. And I found that the promise had been received and given to the Prior in these terms (the same day that I was sent for): 'If I may entreat the Dean of Peterborough, who hath been commended to me for this purpose, to have a conference with you, and if in that conference he cannot defend the validity of his own sacred orders and give me satisfaction in what you have to say against it, I will and do promise you to quit my present profession, and to be reconciled by you to yours the very next morning after.' Whereupon, being demanded whether I would admit and undertake that conference, or no—when I had first declared my dislike of the promise (which I said was too rashly and inconsiderately made, for the weight of this cause ought not to depend upon me or any other particular man), yet, being importuned and urged thereunto, and being desirous to preserve that person in our own communion, I yielded to the conference."

Next day the two disputants met and debated, before seven or eight auditors, for three or four hours, Robinson's point being that the English Ordination Service had neither the matter nor the form of a valid ordination—neither the delivery of the paten and chalice nor the commission to offer sacrifice. Cosin's rejoinder, of course, was that neither that particular matter nor that particular form was essential to the validity of Orders; and he claims in his letter that the Prior was put to silence and those present satisfied. But Robinson afterwards suggested that they should continue the debate on

paper, to which Cosin agreed. The latter first wrote a paper, in which he maintained that "the judgment of the ancient Fathers" was in favour of the Anglican practice; and in a second paper (in which he deprecates both the Prior's lack of candour and his supercilious tone) he shows further that the Roman Church itself has not always insisted upon that matter and that form, whilst the Greek Church has never used them. Robinson does not seem to have made a final reply, but the issue as regards the vacillating Anglican is uncertain.[1]

In another letter, written to Bishop Morton in 1648, Cosin says:

"Among others, I met not long since, with one of their Fathers (as they call them) of the Oratory, who, being very weary himself, fetched in a couple of subsidiary Sorbonists, that would take upon them to be somebody. But when all the old Fathers and Councils failed them for the maintenance of their new inventions (whereof their Transubstantiation, their Necessity of auricular Confession, and the Jurisdiction of their Universal Father the Pope, were then in agitation between us) they betook themselves to their 1,200 new fathers, the authority of the Council of Lateran."

Cosin, however, in the notes which his methodical industry had compiled, had evidence destruc-

[1] This question is still a live one, and Cosin's papers are of real value: they will be found in *Works*, iv. 243 ff. Any one anxious to know how the matter now stands should read the learned and dignified *Answer of the Archbishops of England to the Apostolic Letter of Pope Leo XIII. on English Ordinations* (Longmans, 1897).

tive of the authenticity of the reputed Canon of that Council; and he asks, in his letter, that certain passages may be transcribed from scarce volumes to which the Bishop had access, and may be attested, since his opponents will not accept his own statements.[1]

It was, apparently, Cosin's practice to commit to writing concise statements dealing with the special points on which Romish emissaries were striving to unsettle the minds of his congregation, with the idea of circulating these documents for undisturbed perusal and calm deliberation. In this case he drew up a Memorial against "the authority of this pretended great Council," and provoked an Answer[2] from Thomas Vane (*alias* Carr, *alias* Pinckney), who tells the reader that:

"Doctor Cosens (since his coming into these parts) hath written divers papers against the Catholique doctrine and beliefe; and hath shewed them, or delivered the substance of them in discourse to divers persons, thereby to draw them, or keepe them from the Catholique communion; who not having ability or leisure to examine their truth, I believe, thought better of them than they deserved. These papers of his came afterwards into the hands of several Catholiques, and each one answered that which he hapned on, or which was (if any was) more particularly addressed to him; which is the reason that hee hath more answers than one, though to them all, any one was more than enough. Amongst his papers, this against the fourth Councell of Lateran came to my hands,

[1] *Works*, iv. 472 ff. [2] Paris, 1646. 8°.

to which I soone after returned a briefe answer, and so the matter rested; but hearing since that hee, and some that thinke well of him, have triumphed in these his workes, as though hee had gayned great victories; that I might undeceive them, for so much as I undertooke . . . I thought good a little to enlarge my former answer . . . heere are more than enough to warrant us to say of him, as Abigail said of Nabal; for by his deeds he makes true the signification of his name: and that they that rely on him, will be like those that lean on a broken reedy staffe, which will run into their hands, and wound instead of supporting them. Postscript . . . which paper, and others of his also (he inwardly shrinking at his owne guilt) hath mightily laboured to recall into his owne hands, that soe there might remayne no handwriting of his owne against him."

In a similar paper, written in answer to a letter which claimed the approval of Luther and Calvin for the practice of communicating in one kind, Cosin, having first declared that "we pin not our faith or religion upon Luther's sleeve," showed that the great Reformer had in later life repudiated his earlier words, "penned when it was yet scarce day with him." As for Calvin, he had denied that not only the necessity of the Cup but even that of Communion in any form could be based on St. John vi., but had maintained that it *could* be based on Christ's Institution. "All the ancient Fathers were of our mind for the necessity of receiving one kind as well as the other." [1]

[1] *Works*, iv. 321 ff. How secure Cosin's position in this

So, too, a writing entitled *Transubstantiation Maintained* drew from Cosin a lengthy statement [1] upholding the Anglican doctrine of the Real Presence as against the Romish theory of Transubstantiation—a treatise of considerable interest as forming the rough sketch which was subsequently worked up into the exhaustive *History of Transubstantiation*." [2]

Other papers drawn up by Cosin at this period were of a more positive and conciliatory nature, of which one of the most important was the *Regni Angliæ Religio Catholica*,[3] written at the request of Hyde (the future Lord Chancellor) to give foreigners a true insight into the doctrine, discipline, and devotion of the English Church.

As the result of his polemical efforts, Cosin was able, in 1648, to report, with pardonable pride, that—

"those limitors that come creeping into our pale and hunt for proselytes, have not (God be thanked) been able for these four years' space to get one, unless it were a poor footman (whom they trapped with a female French bait too), and have lost some others of more considerable quality whom they had lured into their nets before."

But it must not be supposed that Cosin's

matter was may be gathered from the admission of Cardinal Bona (*Rerum Liturg.*, II. xviii. 1) that the practice was unknown amongst the faithful before the twelfth century.

[1] *Corr.* i. 233 ff.

[2] See p. 140, below.

[3] *Works*, iv. 339.

whole time was devoted to controversy. He was diligent, we may be sure, in the other functions of his pastorate, such as the visitation of the sick. One most interesting instance of this side of his work is on record. When, in June 1646, Prince Charles joined the Court at Paris from Jersey, he was supposed to read daily with Dr. Earle (subsequently Bishop of Salisbury), whilst the philosopher Hobbes (of "Leviathan" fame) was appointed to teach him mathematics. Orthodox Churchmen of that age looked very askance at Hobbes as a thorough-paced Erastian and a sceptic whose teaching was subversive of all morality and religion; it speaks well, therefore, for Cosin that, when on a bed of sickness that seemed likely to prove a death-bed, Hobbes sought his ministrations and, in his presence, made a particular confession of his sins.[1]

Cosin's worst troubles began when, in 1648, Prince Charles went to Holland, and there began negotiating with Presbyterians from Scotland. Then, early in 1649, came the harrowing news of the execution of the King, and, at the same time, there broke out the inglorious war of the Fronde between the Parliament of Paris and Cardinal Mazarin, the all-powerful Minister of the Queen-Regent. In February, Prince James, the Duke of York, arrived in Paris, and most determined efforts were made by the Queen-mother, Henrietta Maria, and her French allies, to secure his submission to the Church of Rome—efforts which for the time being were all in vain;

[1] Aubrey's *Brief Lives*, ed. A. Clark (Oxford, 1898), ii. 353, 398.

but the Prince quarrelled very seriously with his mother, who, now that her husband's influence was removed, made no attempt to conceal her ill-will to those who differed from her in religion. On Cosin, naturally, fell the brunt of her animosity; and, in December, Lord Hatton wrote on his behalf to the Secretary, Sir Edward Nicholas:

"I am glad the King will write to the Louvre concerning the Church of England; but I wish you would get him to put in a word or two that Dean Cosens might have some pay, for they give him not a penny; and when every groom and lacquay was paid this Christmas in some proportion, Sir Hen. Wood told him that there was order for four pistoles for him, which was intended as a scorn; and we hear that they are now ashamed of the design of putting down the Service, but have found a neater way of starving out their parson, and then they think the congregation will dissolve quietly. Indeed, he is a most worthy person." [1]

But worse was to follow, for in March 1650 the younger Charles made a treaty with the Scots at Breda, accepting Presbyterianism. The exiles began to desert the English Church with an alacrity which was, at the time, compared to the traditional behaviour of rats on a doomed vessel. And Lady Kinelmeky, the niece of the first Duke of Buckingham, whose flippant attitude towards a change of religion had been the subject of a correspondence between Cosin and Dr. Steward, the favourite divine of the younger

[1] *Nicholas Papers* (Camden Society), i. 159.

Charles, now assured the former (on the authority, it was supposed, of Lord Jermyn, the Queen-mother's secretary), "that the King would shortly send to the Louvre and to Sir Richard Browne's to command at both places to desist from the use of the Common Prayer Book; and then, she said, there would be an end of our Religion." [1]

Charles himself had too much sense to take any such action; but the Queen-Regent of France, on the ground that "her son's late troubles had been in part caused by the public permission of heretical worship in his own palace," [2] forbade the use of the room in the Louvre. At the same time Henrietta Maria definitely withdrew "the exhibition" she had formerly assigned to Cosin. More than once Hyde pleaded for the pastor and his flock, but could secure nothing but fair promises, although sanction was granted for the services to be held in the private lodgings of one of the Anglican exiles.[3] In May 1651, however, the French clergy undertook to raise a pension for Henrietta Maria in consideration of her promise that she would gradually rid her Court of all "heretics." [4]

Cosin's poverty was at this time abject. He wrote to Dean Steward: "I am left here alone, where the weekly task that I must live on will kill me, as it has already made me as lean as

[1] *Nicholas Papers*, i. 174.

[2] Brown's *Miscellanea Aulica*, p. 142. Letter from Cowley, Henrietta Maria's assistant-secretary.

[3] Clarendon, *Hist.* xiii. 43; *Life* (1857), i. 238 ff.

[4] Carte, *Original Letters*, i. p. 449.

Lent. When the D[uke of York] has wherewithal it will be very graciously done of me to supply the wants of them that need." But his correspondent could give him but cold comfort: "I extremely pity your condition, and would mend it, did I know how." There were, however, a few Royalist exiles in France who were in a position to give a certain amount of assistance to the needy. One of these was Sir Ralph Verney, whose relations with Cosin were particularly happy. We find Cosin thanking him for a gift of forty livres, and for the considerate way in which it had been made. "Whatever my want be," he adds, "you have made your oblation at an Altar, where I shall never want an Eucharist for you, which being all the retribution that I am able to make you, you will be pleased to accept from him whose most hearty prayers are daily offered up unto God for you." [1] John Evelyn, too, whose diary throws much light on the state of things in Paris at this time, was able to claim that he "had been kind and assisted Dr. Cosin in his exile."

Evelyn had been married, a few years before, in the Embassy Chapel to Sir Richard Browne's daughter; and he tells us of various services held in that Chapel, of which the most important was one held on Trinity Sunday, 1651, when two young Huguenots were, on the same day, admitted to the diaconate and ordained

[1] *Memoirs of the Verney Family*, iii. 19. Later Cosin, on hearing of the death of Sir Ralph's wife, sent him a copy of his *Devotions*; and yet later he persuaded Charles to "touch" Mary Eure, a ward of Sir Ralph.

priests by Dr. Sydserf, Bishop of Galloway, "there being so few bishops left in England and consequently danger of a failure of both functions."[1] From the same source we learn of a sermon preached by Cosin in October, on the words, "Though He slay me, yet will I trust in Him," "for establishing and comforting some ladies of great quality, who were then to be discharged from our Queen-mother's service, unless they would go over to the Romish Mass."

The inducement to submit to the Roman Church must at this time have been irresistible to all but those whose Anglicanism was based on the surest foundations. Even Cosin himself was not outside the range of temptation. Canon Ornsby quotes an extract from the Diary of John Ward, Vicar of Stratford-on-Avon, to the effect that—

"when Dr. Cosin was in France divers gentlemen that travelled thitherto used to come to see him and drop some pence into his hand; that when he was so low he was often tempted to turn papist, with large promises that if he would do so, he and his children would be provided for, and they should never trouble him more."

[1] One of these ordinands was Durel, subsequently Dean of Windsor, who translated the Prayer Book into French for the use of Anglicans in the Channel Isles and saw Cosin's *History of Transubstantiation* through the press. The other was Brevint, who became Dean of Lincoln, after being preferred to a prebend at Durham by Cosin: his *Christian Sacrifice and Sacrament* was adopted by the Wesleys for the devotional nurture of the early Methodists.

And this is supported by Basire, who speaks of—

"his noble contempt of great preferment on the right hand and on the left, if he would comply with, or but connive at, the erroneous positions and practices of the seducers; to all whom his real and resolute answer was that of St. Peter to Simon Magus: 'Thy money perish with thee.' So far was this Great Spirit from tottering, much more from turning aside from the right way."

About this time, too, the Romanists did not scruple to spread a rumour that Charles I., the royal martyr, had died a Papist.[1] But Cosin continued unwearied in his efforts to establish the waverers; and, in another interesting glimpse, Evelyn[2] tells us of an unavailing debate which he arranged between a friar and Cosin for the edification of his kinsman Keightley, who had been under Cosin at Peterhouse.

But the most painful defection of all was that of his own son, young John Cosin. Evelyn, who certainly ought to have known the facts, says that the lad was sent in 1651 to the Jesuits' school "to learn his grammar rules"; but it seems almost incredible that so shrewd a man as Cosin should have taken so risky a step, and the statement is not easy to reconcile with the record in the Peterhouse Matriculation Book: "An. 1649, April 26. Johannes Cosin, Dunelmensis, annos quindecim natus, in scholâ Cathe-

[1] *Nicholas Papers*, i. 249. [2] *Diary*, June 25th, 1651.

drali Petroburgi educatus, examinatus et approbatus, admissus est Pensionarius ad primam mensam scholarium, sub tutelâ Doctoris Franci." Evelyn was obsessed with the villainy of the Jesuits, and there must have been countless risks of "catching" Popery at that time and place, especially for so vulnerable a nature as that of the younger Cosin. Evelyn preserved a singularly turgid letter written by the lad, asking him "to intercede for him and pacify his father."[1] This letter was endorsed by Evelyn, "Brought to me late at night by an unknown person, and answered by me, dated January 1st, by occasion of the dispersing copies of it in her Majesty's chamber."

And a few months later Cosin wrote to him on the subject:

"I never entertained any suggestions against my daughter, who, I am confident, hath more of God in her than ever to be carried away with such devil's temptations as have seduced and undone her brother, against whom I can hardly hold here from expressing a very great indignation. The excellent letter you addressed to him, I presented to his Majesty's view (and I presented your excuse withal for not coming to him before you went), for whom the copy of it was prepared; and every way it was highly pleasing to him as he read it. But when I told him it was my intention to publish it, though he wished it done, yet he thought it were better for a while to spare it (*rebus sic stantibus*), for fear of displeasing his mother, the Queen, who

[1] Bray's ed. of Evelyn, pp. 561 ff., where there is, however, a very ill-informed note on Cosin.

had been pleased to interest herself in the matter."

Although he temporarily reclaimed the youth, Cosin seems never again to have shown outward marks of paternal affection towards him, and he finally withdrew from the English Communion soon after the Restoration.[1]

It has been suggested that it was exasperation at this invasion of his family circle that drove Cosin into the arms of the Huguenots. Not only is this unlikely in itself, but it is against the evidence; for Basire distinctly states that Cosin's alliance with the Protestants of Charenton, two miles distant from Paris, began as early as 1645.[2] His attitude towards the Huguenots raises, of course, the whole question of the *esse* or the *bene esse* of the Episcopacy, and, as such, it will be treated in a later chapter when the various phases of his churchmanship will have to be discussed. Here we need only linger to note how close his relations were with this Reformed Communion. In the letter written to contradict Fuller's mis-statements, he says:

"I never refused to join with the Protestants, either here or anywhere else, in all things

[1] See p. 316, below.

[2] "Anno 1645, he did, with the consent of the ministers of the Reformed Church of Charenton, near Paris, solemnly in his priestly habit, with his surplice and with the office of Burial used in the Church of England, inter there the body of Sir William Carnaby, a noble and loyal knight, not without the troublesome contradiction and contention of the Romish curate there."—Basire, p. 58.

wherein they join with the Church of England. Many of them have been here at our Church and we have been at theirs. I have buried divers of our people at Charenton, and they permit us to make use of their peculiar and decent cemetery here in Paris for that purpose; which if they did not, we should be forced to bury our dead in a ditch. I have baptized many of their children at the request of their own ministers, with whom I have good acquaintance, and find them to be very deserving and learned men, great lovers and honourers of our Church. . . . Many of their people, (and of the best sort and quality among them,) have frequented our public prayers with great reverence, and I have delivered the Holy Communion to them according to our own order, which they observed religiously. I have married divers persons of good condition among them: and I have presented some of their scholars to be ordained Deacons and Priests here by our own Bishops (whereof Monsieur de Turenne's Chaplain [Brevint] is one, and the Duke de la Force's Chaplain [Durel] another), and the Church at Charenton approved of it: and I preached here publicly at their ordination. Besides, I have been (as often as I had spare time from attending our own congregation) to pray and sing psalms with them, and to hear both the weekly and the Sunday sermons, at Charenton, whither two of my children also (pensioned here in a Protestant family at Paris) have daily repaired for that purpose, with the gentlewoman that governed them." [1]

In an opposite direction, too, Cosin, while at Paris, made a practical endeavour to promote the Reunion of the Churches. He later com-

[1] *Works*, iv. 397–8.

mitted to writing an "Account of Conference with the Archbishop of Trapezond." [1]

"When I sojourned lately in France, I contracted an acquaintance with the venerable prelate Cyril, Archbishop of Trapezond, who came often to visit me at my lodgings at the Louvre, and the Palais Royal, and had frequent conference with me concerning the condition and professed religion of the Greek, Romish, and English Churches; in which conferences his constant assertion was, that the rules of faith and religion professed in the Greek Church were the Holy Scriptures of God, and the first six General Councils, together with the canonical epistles and approved writings of the ancient Catholic Fathers and Bishops of those times: that the later councils and writers, in the Latin or Roman Church, had many novelties in them, both in matters of faith and government, which the Greek Church would not receive; and that the confession of faith, the liturgy, and the government, established in the Church of England, (which, upon several demands by him made, I represented most truly and faithfully to him,) were consonant to the orthodox and Catholic religion of the old Greek Fathers, with whom it was both his duty and mine, and all others belonging to our Churches, therein to retain communion and unity together. . . . I heard him say St. Chrysostom's liturgy in a private chapel at the Louvre . . . to the hearing of this liturgy (which they term a Greek mass) his highness the Duke of York was also invited, who was pleased to send and consult me about it, whether he might be present at it or no; and, when I had told him it was much differing from the Roman

[1] *Works*, iv. 466 ff.

mass, and that there was a private closet adjoining to the Chapel, where he might hear and see what was done, without giving any offence, or being seen at it himself, he commanded me to wait upon him there, and to declare unto him the several passages of that liturgy, which I did."

This *rapprochement* between the Anglican and Eastern Churches evidently brought matters to the point at which they stand to-day.

The period subsequent to the defeat of the second Charles at Worcester, in September 1651, was one of accentuated misery for the English exiles, whose hope of restoration seemed now at an end. The anxiety as to his fate was relieved by his safe arrival in October; but the perpetual squabbles between the Louvrains (as the Queen's party came to be called) and the rest of the Court, and the distressing poverty of all (so that at one time Sir Richard Browne's house was in jeopardy on account of the unpaid rent), must have dejected the stoutest heart. St. Paul's experience was reversed: within were fightings, without were fears; for in June 1652 the resentment roused by Charles's attempt to act as mediator in the Fronde affair rose to such a height that the English could hardly venture abroad in the streets and for several days together an infuriated mob surrounded the Louvre. The French Government, too, was growing more and more alienated, as the formal recognition of the "Commonwealth" developed into a definite treaty of peace and commerce between Mazarin and Cromwell. When this unnatural alliance drove Charles reluctantly from

France, Cosin, who had, with Dr. Earle,[1] enjoyed the empty honour of officiating as royal chaplain, was anxious to accompany his sovereign; but his intentions were frustrated by the receipt of the following royal missive:

"Trusty and well-beloved, Wee greete you well. Havinge it in our purpose shortly upon our urgent occasions to remove our Residence from this place, Wee have thought it fitt to lett you know, that as Wee have to our singular satisfaction and content observed your piety and zeale in the constant professing and vindicating the Religion of the Church of England from the false imputations and calumnyes cast upon it by the enemyes thereof, of severall kinds, and in the dew and diligent upholding the exercise of devyne Service, according to the fforme established by the lawes of that our Kingdom, so Wee do in an especiall manner recommend it to you to continue the same your care and diligence in the performing all devyne offices to all those our servants of the protestant religion in the family of our Royall Mother the Queen, and in keeping up that fforme of service in our Chapell, at our Residents house here, to the end that no discountenance or discouragement, in these ill tymes, may dissolve that congregation, of the which Wee have likewise given a charge unto our sayd Resident, holdinge ourselfe to be the more obliged to use all possible means within our power for the maintenance and profession of that our religion in these

[1] Dr. Steward had died very shortly after Charles's escape from Worcester; he had been for years Cosin's intimate friend, and the loss of such a friend must have added much to his sorrows at this period.

tymes of slander, reproach, and persecution. And Wee hope that God will so bless us, that Wee shall be able to rewarde the service you have done, and the sufferings you have undergone for us; and, in the meane tyme, Wee shall take the best care for your subsistence and encouragement that is in our power to doe. And so Wee bidd you heartily ffarewell."

In the fulfilment of the duties thus reimposed, Cosin's health broke down completely. At times he fainted whilst officiating; and, though he had periods of relief, he suffered greatly for the remainder of his exile. In October 1654 Hatton wrote:

"Mr. Dean Cosens is exceedingly ill and I cannot think he will last long; and we shall be sensible of his loss when he is gone. He is exceeding poor and necessitous; even to the want of necessities for his health, and hath not anything here coming in for officiating at the Resident's weekly and with the Duke of Gloucester daily. I cannot think he will last out till Christmas." [1]

The Duke of Gloucester did, indeed, make Cosin a small present,[2] but not without incurring a reprimand. He was the youngest son of Charles I., "a prince," says Clarendon,[3] "of extraordinary hopes, both from the comeliness and gracefulness of his person and the vivacity of his wit and understanding." Hatton and

[1] *Nicholas Papers*, ii. p. 102, cf. p. 36.
[2] *Ibid.*, ii. 48.
[3] *Hist. of Rebellion*, xiv. 87.

others speak of the sweetness of his disposition; so that we get the impression of a child (he was then fourteen years of age) who in a singularly happy way displayed the best traits—and only the best—of both his parents. He had recently arrived safely at Paris in the charge of his tutor, Richard Lovell, and he became forthwith the object of keen attack from Romish proselytisers, led by Walter Montagu, the Queen-mother's confessor.[1] It was arranged that the Duke should be withdrawn from the corrupting influence of the gilded youth of Paris, to Montagu's abbey at Pontoise. Cosin, of course, saw through this specious arrangement, and entreated Lovell "that in the Duke's bedchamber he would read prayers out of the Liturgy, but the tutor desired to be excused, saying he thought not fit to give Mr. Montague that cause of offence." So Hatton wrote to Nicholas, and he added: "These passages, together with his abstaining from all functions of his calling, give more offence than will well be repaired. In fine, the good man is all most dejected and giving up all."[2] Soon after Hatton made a further report:

"Dr. Cosens (whom I pray you henceforward place in your cypher for Chichester . . .) told me that upon Wednesday night the Duke of Gloucester, upon his coming to town, took an

[1] He was the son of the Earl of Manchester, and, as so often happens, was far more bitter against the Church which he had deserted than those whose Romanism was not so callow. —Clarendon, *Life* (1857), i. 240.

[2] *Nicholas Papers*, ii. 102.

occasion to tell him he would speak with him the next morning in his chamber, whither accordingly he went, and, after some general discourse, the Duke of Gloucester took him aside and complained to him of the great task he had to undergo without authorised assistance." [1]

Montagu, however, interrupted the conversation; but not before the Duke had told Cosin that his mother had declined to help him so long as he remained an Anglican, whilst, on the other hand, he had been given his choice of the Cardinalate or the Crown of England, if he would become a Papist. As a consequence of this conversation, Cosin drew up a paper intended to prime the Duke in the main points of the Anglican dissidence from Rome. To have placed this directly into the Duke's hands would have meant its certain capture by the vigilant Montagu, who had now contrived the removal of Richard Lovell. It was, therefore, smuggled by Lord Hatton into the possession of a youth named Griffith, the only Protestant allowed to attend the Duke; and he, having diligently conned it as opportunity presented itself, coached his spirited master in the dark watches of the night.

All this was duly reported to Charles at Cologne, who conveyed (by Nicholas) his approval to the Duke and his thanks to Cosin. The Duke, however, could not live on his brother's congratulations: his mother had cut him completely adrift and had forbidden any of

[1] *Nicholas Papers*, ii. 119.

her household to assist him. Accordingly Charles commissioned the Earl of Ormonde to journey to Paris and bring the Duke to Cologne; but it took the noble Earl two months to raise the necessary funds, and the Duke meanwhile lodged with the faithful Hatton in Paris. It is a miserable story of bigotry and coercion on the part of an unnatural mother, who little deserved so gracious a son.[1]

It was not merely the difficulty of preserving the sheep within the fold that exercised Cosin's mind at this time:[2] his erudition as a canonist was in demand for the commissioning of new chief pastors. There was no little danger lest the episcopal succession should die out in the English Church, and it seemed important that steps should be taken to fill up the sees which had fallen vacant. Hyde busied himself in the matter and sought Cosin's advice as to the legal formalities to be observed. In the *Clarendon Papers* (July 1655) there is a draft, corrected by Cosin, of a warrant from Charles "desiring that conference may be taken secretly . . . as to the best method . . . for consecrating more bishops."

A letter from Eleazar Duncon (Cosin's old friend of Caius College and of the Durham Chapter) tells Hyde of consultations with Wren, Duppa, Frewen, Hammond, Sheldon, and others, and asks for a collation of the persons

[1] She lost him, by an untimely death, in 1660.

[2] Others whom he was "herding" at this time, with small hope of success apparently, were the Duchess of Richmond, the Earl of Lichfield, and Lord Inchiquin.

and a mandate for consecration. The great difficulty was, that there were no Deans and Chapters to receive, and act upon, the *congé d'élire*. To evade the difficulty, some urged that the King, who enjoyed the absolute power of nomination for the Irish Church, should nominate certain divines to Irish sees, and that, when circumstances permitted, they should be translated to vacant sees in England. Cosin's dismay at this proposal comes out very clearly in the letter shortly to be quoted. The proposal which met with his approval was that Charles should issue a commission to any four Bishops, authorising them to elect and consecrate fit persons, on the understanding that their proceedings should be subsequently ratified and confirmed. Hyde told Cosin:

"There are two who are willing to come over to perform their parts [these would, no doubt, have joined with Bramhall and the Bishop of Galloway]; and there are three who are willing to perform all things there which are requisite [these were Duppa, Ussher, and Brownrigg, the first-named apparently doubting the validity of a consecration in foreign parts, and asking that one of the bishops resident abroad should go across to England]: some persons are ready to receive the Order there, and others are capable of being persuaded to come over and take it here . . . in both cases, two things are held necessary to be done by the King, both under the Great Seal:—a collation of such persons whom he intends for Bishops, and a mandate for the rest to do their office; and both these instruments to be kept on this side the sea, and

intimation only to be sent thither. . . . The King is resolved to despatch it one way or other this winter; therefore, I pray, send me your advice, as particularly as you can, and tell me (as your friend) what part you will be content to act yourself." [Did this mean that Cosin could be nominated as one of the new bishops, if he so wished ?]

In his reply, Cosin wrote:

"The mandate [1] I send you here enclosed, as I drew it up three weeks since, with all the cautions and supplements that the condition and necessity of these times required to be used and inserted into it. . . . My chief care was to give a reason, why the ordinary course of election by Dean and Chapter is not observed, and to save the Bishops, that shall be employed in the consecration of another, from any penalties of the laws which otherwise they might incur, and from the exceptions that may be taken against the validity of their act hereafter: which the King's power, and dispensation with those penal laws, will sufficiently silence: for after this manner they proceeded in the consecrating of new Bishops at the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign; and we cannot have a better pattern. . . . You were once resolved to hold constant to the course of England, and not to make Ireland our way to come thither. For who will, or who can with a good conscience, accept of a consecration to a bishopric there, where he never intends to come, or exercise the office of a Bishop? . . . What difference will

[1] The mandate (as well as this letter) has been reprinted in *Works*, iv. 375 ff.

there be between a man, that always intends to live in England, to be made a Bishop for Ireland, and one that never meant to live out of Paris, or some other place in France, to be made a Bishop of Corinth, or Chalcedon among the Greeks? In our defence of the Apology for the Church of England, (which Bishop Jewell set forth for us,) we had great reason to say, that it was a void act, a mock, and a vanity, in the Pope, to make his Cardinals (as he doth still) Bishops of Jerusalem and Antioch, &c., at Rome. . . . And shall not we also in this way of Ireland run into the same errors? . . . I confess it would not a little grieve me to have lost my labour in it, and the expectation we have had to see the effect of it this long time together."

But owing to the difficulty in deciding whether King (of Chichester) and Frewen (of Lichfield) should cross to the Continent or Bramhall should visit England, no immediate action could be taken, and the project, perhaps fortunately, came to nothing.

About this time a brisk correspondence was being carried on between Cosin and Hyde, from which we gather that there was some anxiety lest the former should break down beneath the strain of his pastoral and controversial labours: apparently a Scotchman had been sent to act as his assistant-curate (as we should say to-day) and to relieve him of the duty of preaching; but he had "given no contentment," and Hyde was looking out for another. Cosin wrote, by request, a "discourse about the German [*sic*] Empire," especially dealing with the manner of

electing the emperors, a point which presumably was of special interest to Charles, then residing in Germany. And in a letter, dated March 28th, 1656, Hyde suggested "Confession" as the subject for Cosin's next controversy; the weary warrior unhesitatingly accepted the suggestion and produced a treatise *Of the Abuse of Auricular Confession in the Church of Rome*, which, however, was never printed.

About the same time his controversial powers were required by Charles himself, in circumstances which are explained in the following letter, addressed to Cosin by Gilbert Talbot, then in attendance on Charles at Cologne:

"In the last entertainment our Master had with the Duke of Newbourg, a dispute arose about the Real Presence, wherein the D. was taught to argue to be able to convert his Duchess: (which he did). I undertook the argument with him, which broke off undecided betwixt us. He hath since sent me a paper, the theme whereof is this: '*Corpus et sanguis Christi sunt realiter in Eucharistia*,' &c. He quoteth divers sayings out of the Greek and Latin Fathers in each of the first eight ages, to favour the opinion of Transubstantiation, and thence draweth the conclusion of that doctrine, alleging many heretics censured and condemned for dissenting. The paper is too long: otherwise I would send you a copy of it. But this is the scope and substance, to which he provoketh my answer in writing. I have hitherto excused it for want of books: but, to deal truly with you, I dare not adventure upon that main point without help; and Dr. Earles

will not meddle in controversy. Therefore I desire you to send me a short state of the question in Latin, to shew how far the primitive Church believed it, and when and how the Romanists stretched it with the absurdities of their opinion, and the foul consequences of adoring the Sacrament—an answer to all those ordinary expressions of the Fathers, and the positive opinion of our Church in the point." [1]

Cosin accepted the task without hesitation, and produced a Latin treatise in which he observed exactly the terms of reference. It was the most ambitious work he had yet attempted; and, although his circumstances had made it essential that he should be letter-perfect in that particular point of doctrine, on which he had already written a precursory treatise, it was a remarkable feat to have accomplished it in less than three months, especially at a time when his health was far from good. With a surprising modesty, he persistently declined to publish it, "because, having composed it for particular friends, he thought it sufficient that it had been useful to them." His friends, however, shortly before his death obtained his consent for its publication, and it first appeared in print three years after his death and twenty years after it was written.[2]

His next literary effort he gave to the world promptly: it was *A Scholastical History of the*

[1] *Works*, iv. 6 *n.*

[2] *Works*, iv. 6 ff., where an English translation by Luke de Beaulieu, a Huguenot refugee, is also given. Before its inclusion in the Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology, a new edition had been published in 1840 (ed. J. S. Brewer).

Canon of Holy Scripture, which he had undertaken at the earnest request of Dr. Gunning, subsequently Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge and Bishop of Ely. It was, therefore, a sore disappointment to Cosin to find that, although Wren, Sancroft, and others applauded, Gunning himself did not altogether approve this work. The latter admitted, indeed—

"I never read any tract touching this controversy betwixt the Romanists and the Protestants done with half that judgment, learning, pains, and diligence, that this is done with; few indeed ever before insisting upon the right way of enquiry, which only is, or can be, by historical disquisition of the universal tradition and testimony of the Church . . . you have satisfied me as to the overpowering of the Tridentine definition[1] . . . but, as to your defence of the Article of the Church of England,[2] and the judgment itself to be made of some of the controverted books. . . . I cannot consent to your way of stating that."

In reality there seems to have been very slight difference of opinion between the two

[1] "The holy, œcumenical, and general Council of Trent . . . following the example of the orthodox fathers receives and venerates all the books of the Old and New Testaments . . . with an equal feeling of devotion and reverence." A list is then appended (which includes Tobit, Judith, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Baruch, and 1 and 2 Maccabees), and the following anathema: "If, however, any one does not receive the entire books with all their parts as they are accustomed to be read in the Catholic Church and in the old Latin Vulgate edition as sacred and canonical, and knowingly and wittingly despises the aforesaid traditions, let him be Anathema."

[2] Article vi.

scholars: Cosin, in his reply, wholly repudiated the suggestion that he denied any degree of inspiration to the Apocrypha [1]; and, with regard to Gunning's argument that a certain amount of doubt had been thrown by antiquity on some of the New Testament books, he argued that "the great body of the Church itself never doubted of them." It must be admitted, however, that the problem of the Canon of Holy Scripture is not nearly as simple as Cosin supposed, and that there is far less unity and consistency in Christian tradition than he was prepared to admit; he was, without question, right in arguing that no unbiassed scholar could defend the decree of the Council of Trent with its anathema, and that the English Article is more reconcilable with fact and history; but he was far too anxious to prove his point, and, in any case, it would be absurd for a modern inquirer to consult his pages.[2]

[1] Gunning may have feared that some of Cosin's statements would give countenance to the opinion expressed in the great Puritan manifesto, the Westminster Confession: "The books commonly called Apocrypha, not being of divine inspiration, are no part of the Canon of Scripture; and therefore are of no authority in the Church of God, nor to be in any other wise approved, or made use of, than other human writings." Subsequently Gunning, in his *Lent Fast*, quoted Cosin (with three other divines) that the world might see "that so reverend, zealous, and learned protestants and such as have done so much service against the papists as all the presbyterians put together," supported his contentions.

[2] Probably the best book on the subject for an ordinary English reader is Dr. Westcott's *The Bible in the Church*, in the Preface of which we are told, alas! that "the *Scholastical History* of Bishop Cosin is essentially polemical and not historical, and must be read with the greatest caution."

Apart from the disappointment due to Gunning's qualified approval, this literary labour was unfortunate, in that it was the cause of an eye-trouble which was long a source of anxiety and was a peculiarly trying affliction to one with Cosin's passion for reading and excerpting notes.

"I have of late," he writes to Sancroft in 1659, "lost the force of my reading eye (having never had but one for that purpose), and I am endeavouring every day, by the art and help of the most skilful oculists here, to recover it again, whereof they put me in good hope when the cataract is once more to maturity, which they say will be about eight or ten months hence. In the meanwhile, not to be able to read (nor to write, but by guess, as now I do) is the greatest misery that ever yet befell me." [1]

The letters written at this time contain repeated thanksgivings for monetary assistance from Sancroft, Gunning, and others; while to Hyde he writes:

"I humbly thank your Lordship for renewing your promises of the care that shall be taken of my own subsistence, whereof Lord Jermyn taketh no care at all; but the allowance, which he desired the King would make out of some monies that he would here find for his Majesty, had no relation to me, but to the rent of a house only that he intended to take for the performance of our prayers, near to the palace royal, wherein we should have the protection of the Queen, if it might cost her no other expense: for they hold it here a mortal sin to give one

[1] D'Oyly's *Life of Sancroft*, i. 101 ff., cf. 89.

penny towards the maintenance of such heretics as Dr. Cosin is. And in the meanwhile Dr. Goff [a pervert] is newly brought to be a chaplain in this house; and hath his pension augmented, and all by the means of Lord Jermyn."

Cosin seems to have been much beholden to his eldest daughter, Mary,[1] who succeeded in collecting gifts towards his support among the Royalists in England, and about this time, by her pertinacious petitioning of Cromwell, was able to relieve his mind about the livelihood of his daughters. From 1654 onwards she repeatedly drew the Protector's attention to the fact that Dr. Seaman, Master of Peterhouse, was depriving Dr. Cosin's children of a small estate left them, that Lever, the intruded minister at Brancepeth, was not paying them the fifths of the stipend as the law required, and that she could not gain possession of her father's library at Peterhouse. After much shuffling, Lever was ordered to pay the fifths with the arrears, and presumably he did so; and, on October 20th, 1657, an Order in Council was issued insisting upon the payment of twenty shillings a week to Dr. Cosin's daughters in compensation of their wrongs.[2]

Mary Cosin also saved her father's private library, which Evelyn told Pepys, in 1689, that Cosin had agreed to sell to him—

"but his late daughter, since my Lady Garret, thought I had not offered enough, and made

[1] *Granville Letters*, Part II. viii.
[2] *State Papers*, Domestic, 1654–7.

difficulty in delivering them to me till near the time of his Majesty's restoration, and, after that, the Dean, her father, becoming Bishop of that opulent see, bestowed them on the library there."

And Evelyn preserved a letter from Cosin, from which it is easy to see that the poverty-stricken bibliophile felt that Evelyn was pressing him too hard to "abate" his price. It is not altogether surprising that, in more prosperous days, he turned rather a cold shoulder on the man who had saved his own and his relatives' property by steering so prudent a course and not unduly emphasising his loyalty:

"I saluted the old Bishop of Durham, Dr. Cosin" (Evelyn entered in his *Diary*, for May 17th, 1663), "to whom I had been kind and assisted in his exile, but which he little remembered in his greatness."

It will be best to notice, at this point, Cosin's dealings with Lucy Walter, the mother of Charles II.'s illegitimate son, James, Duke of Monmouth. Mrs. Barlow, as she was generally called, ended her days in Paris, in a penitence which was not necessarily feigned. Cosin, at any rate, seems to have charitably hoped that it was real, and he strove to deepen and perfect it. On these facts, in later years, was built up the legend of the Black Box, by which the anti-Romanist party hoped to oust the Duke of York from the throne. It was reported, and gladly believed, that Cosin, at his death, had left a black box in the custody of his son-in-law, Sir

Gilbert Gerard, which was not to be opened until the death of Charles II.; but Sir Gilbert, unable to restrain his curiosity, had opened it and found in it a document proving that Charles had legally married Lucy Walter and that, consequently, the Duke of Monmouth was the rightful heir to the throne. This document was said sometimes to be a paper recording the marriage, which Lucy Walter had entrusted to Cosin's keeping, sometimes to be a certificate that Cosin himself had married her to Charles; James's own account was that Cosin had signed a fictitious marriage certificate. But Cosin, though he would have been glad to know that the heir to the throne was not a Papist, was too shrewd a man to take any of the steps attributed to him. Sir Gilbert Gerard assured the Council that he knew nothing of such a box or paper; but he somewhat mystified people by asking to be excused from taking the oath and to be allowed to speak privately to the King. Charles himself made three formal declarations that he had never married Lucy Walter: such a denial, by itself, perhaps, would not be convincing; but the Duke of Monmouth subsequently admitted on the scaffold that Charles had privately assured him that he was never married to his mother.[1]

Undeterred by his disappointment about the *Scholastical History*, Cosin was contemplating another lengthy polemical work—on the validity of Anglican orders, which had been the subject

[1] For all this, see *Hist. MSS. Commission*, *Report* v. 318; Burnet's Letters in *Camden Miscellany*, xi. 19; Clarke's *Life of James II.*; and Allan Fea's *King Monmouth*.

of his first controversy on French soil; but the failure of his eyesight necessitated its postponement until his return to England, when other tasks absorbed his energies.

The exiles were now in a most harassing state of suspense, hoping against hope. Oliver had died in 1658, to the relief of the whole country; his ineffectual son, Richard, had retired into obscurity amid derisive jeers; loyalty was growing more and more articulate; but Monk was sitting on the fence. In February 1659–60, Dr. Morley told Cosin that he had delayed answering his last letter in the hope of being—

"enabled to give you a better account of the King's business both here and at home than I can do as yet. For, though upon Monk's first beginning to march, we made almost no doubt that he would declare for the King, or at least for a free parliament, in order to a treaty with the King (which seems to be the sense of London and the whole kingdom), yet this week's and last week's letters have given us cause more than to doubt the contrary, unless Monk be a much more artificial dissembler than those that know him best do take him to be."

On April 25th the Convention Parliament met, and "from this time Charles Stuart was no more heard of"; it was "his Majesty" offering terms of amnesty to "dutiful, loving, and loyal subjects." On May 25th Charles landed at Dover, passed in triumphal procession to London, and was there received with—

"joy so inexpressible and so universal, that his

Majesty said smilingly to some about him, that he doubted it had been his own fault that he had been absent so long, for he saw nobody that did not protest he had ever wished for his return."

Was Cosin one of the "infinity of people" whom Pepys reports as coming on board the Fleet to cross the Channel with Charles on May 23rd? Or was he with Sir Richard Browne's party, which Evelyn met at their landing on June 8th? All that we know with certainty is that, on June 16th, his brother-in-law, Thomas Shadforth, was able to write a letter in which he congratulated the exile on his safe arrival in London, and recounted the steps he had taken to assert his rights as Prebendary of Durham and Rector of Brancepeth and Elwick. Before the end of July he was at Peterborough, where he inaugurated the revival of the cathedral services "according to the old laudable use" [1]; and on October 9th, in reply to his anxious inquiries, he learnt that—

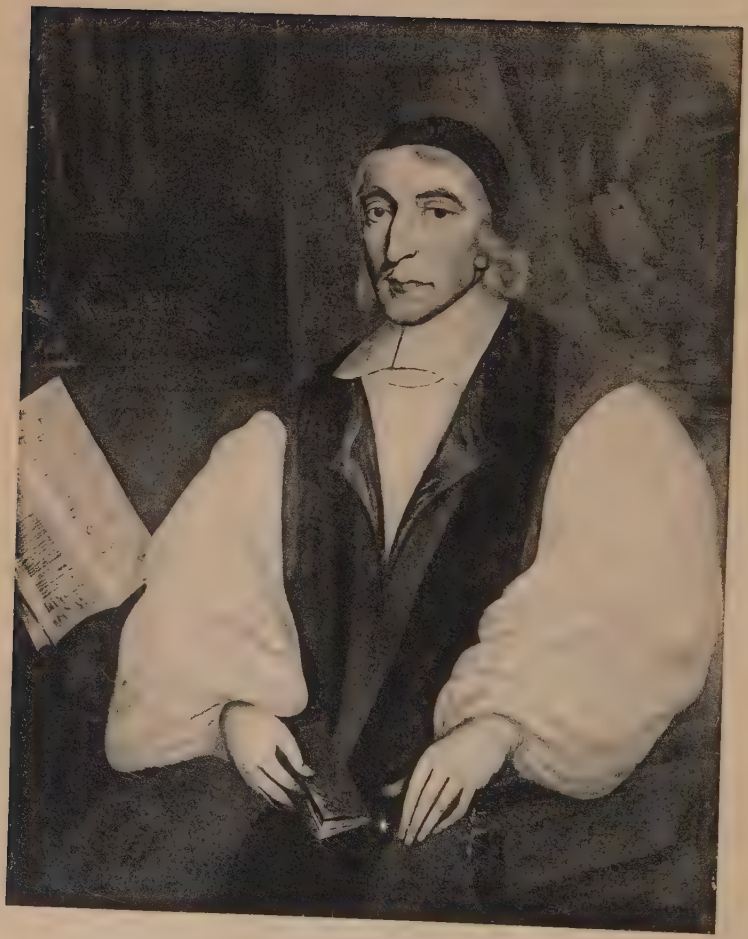
"we have not yet failed in the least to keep up Divine Service in the Quire daily, and many strangers do come into town on purpose to hear us; only we are in great want of a good organist and a good organ."

Early in August the Earl of Manchester,[2] suddenly aware that somebody had wrongfully

[1] *Kennet's Register*, p. 229 ff. Hyde seems to have been vexed by Cosin's promptitude; but the latter wrote a grovelling letter in which he assured the Chancellor that he had done it "without the opposition of any person and to the great satisfaction of the whole city."

[2] See p. 104, above.

ejected Cosin from Peterhouse, restored him to his mastership. There, too, many of the accessories of comely worship were lacking, and soon, no doubt, his restored fortunes would have been applied to the restoration both of the chapel at Cambridge and of the cathedral at Peterborough, had not his elevation to the Episcopal Bench severed his official connection with those places and diverted the current of his munificence. It was evidently known that his heart was in the north, for the first intention was to appoint him Dean of Durham ; but it must soon have been felt that that was an inadequate promotion for one who had suffered so grievously, and battled so unweariedly, on behalf of the English Church. Nothing, probably, could have gratified him more completely than the call to succeed the saintly Morton in the See of Durham. " O Lord, Thou hast dealt graciously with Thy servant : according unto Thy word."



John Cosin.

(From the portrait at Caius College, Cambridge).

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CHAPTER VI

THE RESTORATION ARMISTICE

"I beseech you in the bowels of Christ, think it possible you may be mistaken."

OLIVER CROMWELL [to the Presbyterians].

"It was a judgment upon them to be denied the free liberty of their consciences when the King came in, because when they were uppermost, they would not have liberty of conscience granted to others."

GEORGE FOX, the Quaker.

A WORK of stupendous difficulty faced the leaders of the English Church at the Restoration—a work which, even in these days of enlightened toleration, would severely tax the diplomatic resources of the Episcopal Bench.[1] Those leaders were, for the most part, men of such solid worth that only those who are lacking in a sense of proportion can show any readiness to pass judgment upon them; and certainly justice will not be done them unless three considerations are steadily borne in mind: (1) the intolerant spirit of the age; (2) the bitter provocation experi-

[1] Kennet (*Register*, 451) tells a story of Heylin which may be quoted here: "I happened to be there when the good Bishop of Durham, Dr. Cosin, came to see him, who, after a great deal of familiar discourse between them, said, 'I wonder, brother Heylin, thou art not a bishop; but we all know thou hast deserved it.' To which he answered, 'Much good may it do the new bishops; I do not envy them.'"

enced by the Church; (3) the hatred of both Presbyterianism and Sectarianism which had been roused in the breast of the laity.

1. Toleration was a principle which did not gain full recognition until some two hundred years had passed, and at that time hardly a single leader on either side could have been found to agree with Henry More, the Cambridge Platonist, when, in his *Mystery of Godliness*, he insisted that—

"a mutual agreement of bearing with one another's dissents in the nonfundamentals of religion is really a greater ornament of Christianity (that is, of the whole Church of Christ) than the most exact Uniformity imaginable, it being an eminent act or exercise of charity, the flower of all Christian graces. And it is the best way, I think, in the long run, to make the Church as uniform as can justly be desired." [1]

Leading Nonconformists, such as Calamy and Manton, regarded toleration as "a doctrine born of hell." Cromwell's toleration drew the line at Papists and Episcopalians; moreover, such toleration as he had permitted had resulted in an anarchy which no responsible person wished to see again. As we shall see, the Nonconformist leaders were determined to grant no toleration either to Papists or to Sectaries,[2] and were quite

[1] Benjamin Whichcote was giving similar teaching; but to most people, at the time, such teaching suggested breadth without depth, or an impartiality based on the absence of conviction.

[2] The student of this period must differentiate carefully between the "Nonconformists" (who regarded themselves as members of the English Church, though out of sympathy

as anxious as the Episcopalians to enforce uniformity. F. D. Maurice has expressed the real state of affairs in his *Kingdom of Christ*" [1]:

"The Westminster Assembly had done their best to establish an uniformity of opinions; that wherein they had left their ministers free, was in their modes of worship. The opposite principle had been the one hitherto recognised in England. The bond of national fellowship had been supposed to be the bond of worship; men who had books and leisure might occupy themselves with the study of opinions. I do not know how far the Episcopal clergy at the Restoration were aware that this was the question at issue between them and their opponents; possibly they looked upon it merely as a question whether the nation should adopt a more or less comprehensive system. But if so, their old habits were stronger than their theories; the State felt that it could not trouble itself about shades of opinion, but that old forms of worship were practical and general, and there was One over us Who saw further than either statesmen or Churchmen. At all events this was the result. The Act of Uniformity in Worship was the substitute for the efforts at a dogmatic uniformity which belonged to the genius of Presbyterianism."

2. As to the provocation received, Bramhall confidently challenged Baxter to—

"sum up into one catalogue all the noncon-

with the Book of Common Prayer) and the "Sectaries" or "Separatists" (who were opposed alike to Conformists and Nonconformists).

[1] ii. 386 (fourth edition).

formists throughout the Kingdom of England, ever since the beginning of the Reformation, who have been 'cast aside or driven away' at any time, because they 'durst not use the old ceremonies or the new,' or rather because they found it advantageous to them to disuse them; I dare abate him all the rest of the Kingdom, and only exhibit the martyrologies of London and the two Universities, or a list of those, who in these late intestine wars have been haled away to prisons, or chased away into banishment, by his own party, in these three places alone, or left to the merciless world to beg their bread, for no other crime than loyalty, and because they stood affected to the ancient rites and ceremonies of the Church of England; and they shall double them for number, and for learning, piety, industry, and the love of peace, exceed them incomparably." [1]

This was actually written immediately before the Restoration; but it was published unchanged after the author's death in 1672, as being "much more than a truth, understood of such nonconformists as had regular titles."

Retracing our steps to the outbreak of the Civil War, we can roughly divide the intervening years into a period of Presbyterian Despotism followed by one of Independent (or as we should now call it, Congregationalist) Anarchy. In 1643 Episcopacy was formally abolished, and early in the next year the Solemn League and Covenant, an anti-episcopal affirmation hateful even to moderate Churchmen, was imposed upon all men above eighteen years of age.

[1] Bramhall's *Works* (Oxford, 1844), iii. 581.

The Westminster Assembly, consisting of 120 divines, twenty M.P.'s, and ten peers, with a few Scottish ministers and laymen, drew up a "Directory for the Public Worship of God,"[1] which was to come into use on St. Bartholomew's Day (an ominous date!), 1645; and thereafter those who read the Book of Common Prayer were to be fined £5 for the first offence, £10 for a second, and to be imprisoned for one year for a third, whilst ministers neglecting to use the Directory were to be fined 40*s.* for each neglect, and those "depraving" the same might be fined any sum between £5 and £50.

On the ground of "scandalous" behaviour (a very wide term which covered any gossiping charge or any suspicion of ceremonial seemliness), or of malignancy (*i.e.* loyalty to Church or Crown), or of delinquency (the refusal to accept the Presbyterian Covenant), some 8,000 clergy were ejected from their preferments, their places being usurped by ministers with only Presbyterian orders, or even with no orders at all, and in some cases with neither manners nor education. Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy* is, happily perhaps, not widely read; it is, of course, a partisan statement, but its reputation for accuracy has only risen with the increase of knowledge; and the account of things to be read in its pages is simply heartrending. At

[1] How Churchmen regarded this production may be gathered from Jeremy Taylor's trenchant description: "A form of worship composed to the dishonour of the Reformation, accusing it of darkness and intolerable inconvenience; a direction without a rule; a rule without restraint. . . ." The whole passage should be read.—*Works* (London, 1849), v. 252.

first some pretence was kept up that the wives and children of the ejected clergy were to receive an allowance of one-fifth of the stipend formerly enjoyed; but, in 1654, an ordinance was issued cancelling this allowance, unless they removed from the neighbourhood of their benefices. Soon afterwards the ejected were forbidden to act as schoolmasters or private tutors. All this is to be remembered in passing judgment on the retaliatory Five-Mile Act of 1665.

To the persecution of the rank and file we must add the harsh treatment meted out to the leaders of the Church. Nothing had roused more deeply the resentment of Churchmen than the execution of Charles I., who admittedly might have saved his life if he had been willing to surrender his convictions as a Churchman. Archbishop Laud had perhaps earned the hatred of his enemies; but the "godly ones" had certainly forgotten the Gospel lessons of charity and forgiveness when they kept him for four years in prison, and then, after a travesty of justice, brought him to the block. Bishop Wren had been kept in confinement throughout the rebellion, a period of eighteen years. He had, no doubt, made himself peculiarly obnoxious to the Puritan party; but that could not be said of the saintly Bishop Hall of Norwich, who yet could report in his *Hard Measure*[1] that, after all his rents had been diverted, his goods, "both library and household stuff of all kinds," sold, and his house insolently examined, first for

[1] *Works* (Oxford, 1837), I. li. ff.

arms and later again for "relics of idolatry," he was cast adrift homeless:

"We might have lain in the street," he wrote, "for aught I know, had not the providence of God so ordered it, that a neighbour in the Close, one Mr. Gostlin, a widower, was content to void his house for us. This hath been my Measure; wherefore I know not: Lord, Thou knowest, Who only canst remedy, and end, and forgive or avenge this horrible oppression."

The same most worthy Bishop throws light on another matter which had embittered Churchmen. Nothing, perhaps, has been in all ages more characteristic of English Churchmen than their affectionate veneration for the fabric of their churches and cathedrals. How the victorious Puritans outraged this sentiment has been already illustrated in these pages. Bishop Hall's account of the sacrilege at Norwich Cathedral is worth adding to this particular indictment against the Nonconformist conscience:

"Lord, what work was there! what clattering of glasses! what beating down of walls! what tearing up of monuments! what pulling down of seats! what wresting out of iron and brass from the windows and graves! what defacing of arms! what demolishing of curious stonework, that had not any representation in the world, but only of the cost of the founder and skill of the mason! what tooting and piping upon the destroyed organ-pipes! and what a hideous triumph on the market-day before all the country; when, in a kind of sacrilegious

and profane procession, all the organ-pipes, vestments, both copes and surplices, together with the leaden cross which had been newly sawn down from over the Green-yard pulpit, and the service-books and singing-books that could be had, were carried to the fire in the public market-place; a lewd wretch walking before the train, in his cope trailing in the dirt, with a service-book in his hand, imitating in an impious scorn the tune, and usurping the words of the Litany used formerly in the church. Near the public cross, all these monuments of idolatry must be sacrificed to the fire; not without much ostentation of a zealous joy, in discharging ordnance, to the cost of some, who professed how much they had longed to see that day. Neither was it any news, upon this guild-day, to have the cathedral, now open on all sides, to be filled with musketeers, waiting for the Major's return; drinking and tobacconing as freely as if it had been turned ale-house." [1]

These are pleas which a Churchman at the Restoration might well have advanced in some extenuation of the persecuting measures of Charles II.'s reign: those measures, at any rate, were the work, not so much of the clergy, as of the laity as represented by one of the most popular Parliaments in English history.

3. English laymen had been under the heel of narrow-minded teachers, who, for the most part, had despised the sacramental system and the comely ceremonies of the Church, and in their preaching had not only denied that God offers salvation to all men through Christ, but

[1] *Works* (Oxford, 1837), I. lv.

had almost gloated in the thought that the majority of mankind were eternally damned. An attempt to cover England with an inquisitorial system of parochial elderships, classical presbyteries, and provincial synods had been only very partially successful[1]; but the mere attempt had provoked a wide and deep exasperation to which Butler gave voice in his *Hudibras*:

> "What are their orders, constitutions,
> Church-censures, curses, absolutions,
> But several mystic chains they make
> To tie poor Christians to the stake?
> For to prohibit and dispense,
> To find out or to make offence;
> Of hell and heaven to dispose,
> To play with souls at fast and loose;
> To set what characters they please,
> And mulcts on sin or godliness;
> Reduce the Church to Gospel-order,
> By rapine, sacrilege, and murder;
> To make Presbytery supreme,
> And Kings themselves submit to them;
> And force all people, though against
> Their consciences, to turn saints;
> Must prove a pretty thriving trade,
> When saints monopolists are made."

In 1654 Cromwell set up his Committee of Triers (according to Macaulay, "undoubtedly one of the most despotic acts ever done by any English ruler"): under this system each minister, having satisfied the Triers that he had not been ordained by a bishop and was untainted

[1] The reader should consult, for details, Shaw's *History of the English Church during the Commonwealth*, i. 194 ff. and ii. 19, 200.

by loyalty to Church or Crown, "gathered a Church," that is to say, a small handful of "the people of God," to whom he restricted the administration of Baptism and Holy Communion, repudiating all obligation to "the mixed multitude." But even the sword of Cromwell could not make Puritanism tolerable to Englishmen: many learnt to despise religion in any shape or form, others to dread, as a menace to liberty, any but the most rigid orthodoxy. All this may be pleaded, not in justification, but in explanation of a policy of reprisal which stands condemned, not merely by the apathy of the twentieth century, but by the precepts of the Gospel.

At the Restoration the actions of the "Commonwealth" authorities were, not unnaturally, regarded simply as non-existent, and under the Elizabethan Act of Uniformity the intruded ministers stood condemned without the need of further legislation. There is evidence that some of them gave place at once to those whose benefices they had usurped. Others, however, were not so compliant; hence the necessity for the passing of the Act of Uniformity of 1662. Whatever may be said in condemnation of the clause of that Act which enforced attendance at parish churches, and of the other Acts of the "Clarendon Code," it is difficult to see how a body desiring to remain an integral part of the historic Catholic Church could do otherwise than eject such ministers as would not receive episcopal ordination, or else declined to conform to a Prayer Book which had been approved

by the constitutional authorities of both Church and State.

It may be frankly admitted that a certain debt of gratitude was owing to the Presbyterian leaders, who, whatever their motive may have been, had worked steadily for the restoration of Church and Throne; but it was the intolerance and the uncompromising attitude of these leading Presbyterians which destroyed all hope of a permanent accommodation. Charles, in the famous Declaration issued from Breda in April 1660, had announced that—

"because the passion and uncharitableness of the times have produced several opinions in religion, by which men are engaged in parties and animosities against each other; which, when they shall hereafter unite in a freedom of conversation, will be composed or better understood; we do declare a liberty to tender consciences; and that no man shall be disquieted, or called in question, for differences of opinion in matters of religion which do not disturb the peace of the Kingdom; and that we shall be ready to consent to such an Act of Parliament as, upon mature deliberation, shall be offered to us for the full granting that indulgence." [1]

But the Presbyterian ministers who waited on the King in Holland began immediately to agitate against the Book of Common Prayer, urging the King not to permit its use in his

[1] The authorities for the rest of this chapter are mainly *Documents Relating to the Act of Uniformity* (London, 1862); Cardwell's *Conferences on the B.C.P.*; Collier's *Ecclesiastical History of Great Britain; Reliquiæ Baxterianæ.*

chapel; they did not, however, gain much satisfaction from Charles, whose religious standpoint has been well summed up by Professor Firth in the *Cambridge Modern History* (vol. v. p. 92):

"He was half a follower of Hobbes and half a Catholic [the Professor means, no doubt, a Roman Catholic], with a preference for toleration, based partly on policy and partly on indifference, but not strong enough to resist the pressure of circumstances."

Soon after the King landed in England, the leading Nonconformist divines again approached him with an Address, in which they pleaded for "a modified Episcopacy, on the lines of Ussher's Reduction or Model of Church Government," and suggested that "some learned, godly, and moderate divines of both persuasions, indifferently chosen," should be employed to compile a new form of public worship or to revise and effectually reform the old. At the same time, with an appeal to the exercise of arbitrary power unworthy of their political record, they begged Charles—

"out of your princely care of healing our sad breaches, graciously to grant that kneeling at the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and such holy-days as are but of human institution, may not be imposed . . . and that the use of the surplice, and Cross in Baptism, and bowing at the Name of Jesus . . . may be abolished."

This address Charles submitted to the Bishops, nine of whom had survived the Rebellion. Of

these, Wren (of Ely) was perhaps the most influential, since Juxon, although he had been with universal approval translated from London to Canterbury, had been too shocked by the flippancy of Charles to take any further interest in public affairs, from which in any case his infirmity would probably have precluded him. The real leadership of the Church lay with the Lord Chancellor Hyde, soon to be created Earl of Clarendon, and Gilbert Sheldon, Bishop-designate of London; as next in importance, just at this juncture, it would probably be right to name Morley, Bishop-designate of Worcester, who exercised considerable influence over the Lord Chancellor, and Cosin, whose liturgical lore was in constant demand.

There is nothing to suggest Cosin's hand in the Bishops' reply to the Nonconformists' address, but reference to it could hardly be omitted. It was by no means conciliatory. Doubt was thrown on the "Reduction" as representing Ussher's final views, and, in any case, it was dismissed as being "destitute of any colour of testimony or precedent of antiquity." With regard to kneeling at Communion and the observance of holy-days, the Bishops were obdurate; but—

"as for the other three ceremonies, viz., the surplice, cross after baptism, and bowing at the Name of Jesus, although we find not here any sufficient reason alleged why they should be utterly abolished: nevertheless, how far forth in regard to tender consciences a liberty may be thought fit to be indulged to any, his majesty,

according to his great wisdom and goodness, is best able to judge."

Concerning the Book of Common Prayer, the Bishops state:

"We find by experience that the use of it is very much desired, where it is not; and the people generally are very well satisfied with it where it is used; which we believe to be a great conservatory of the chief heads of Christian religion, and of piety, charity and loyalty in the hearts of the people. We believe that the disuse thereof for sundry late years, hath been one of the great causes of the sad divisions in the Church; and that the restoring the same will be (by God's blessing) a special means of making up the breach; there being (as we have great reason to believe) many thousands more in the nation that desire it than dislike it. Nevertheless, we are not against revising of the liturgy by such discreet persons as his majesty shall think fit to employ therein."

Cosin definitely enters on the scene at the meeting held on October 22nd at Hyde's residence, Worcester House, in the Strand. Here the King and his Chancellor met several peers, bishops, and other divines; and a draft "Declaration concerning ecclesiastical affairs" was read and discussed. In the course of the debate, Hyde, no doubt as the King's mouthpiece, produced a supplemental clause permitting "others to meet for religious worship, provided they give no disturbance to the public peace." This, however, was obnoxious to Richard Baxter,

the leader of the Nonconformists, on the ground that it granted toleration to Anabaptists and Independents, whilst all the Presbyterians present (as also the Bishops) objected to it as giving freedom of worship to Papists, that being, doubtless, the King's object in proposing it. The Declaration, therefore, was published without this clause: after references to the previous Declaration from Breda, and to the Declaration which he had been "enforced to sign" in Scotland, accepting the Solemn League and Covenant, Charles offered various concessions to the Nonconformists, of which that which most concerns us here is the promise that—

"We will appoint an equal number of learned divines of both persuasions to review the Liturgy of the Church of England, and to make such alterations as shall be thought most necessary, and some additional forms (in the scripture phrase as near as may be) suited unto the nature of the several parts of worship, and that it be left to the minister's choice to use one or other at his discretion. In the meantime . . . our will and pleasure is, that none be punished or troubled for not using it, until it be reviewed and effectually reformed, as aforesaid."

The appointment of such a Commission clearly did not unconstitutionally strain the royal prerogative; but the other concessions to Nonconformist scruples ignored the rights both of Parliament and of Convocation, and this was recognised when an attempt was made to convert the Declaration into an Act of Parliament.

The attempt, however, was but a half-hearted one; and since, with the omission of the clause which would have granted relief to the Papists, the interest of the Court had evaporated, the Declaration failed to receive Parliamentary sanction.

The royal warrant for a Conference was duly issued on March 25th, 1661: it named twelve Bishops (Cosin, consecrated in the previous December, being one) as the Episcopalian representatives, with nine other divines to supply the place of any bishop who should be hindered from attending, and, as Presbyterian representatives, twelve leading ministers with nine assistants, of whom the most important were Dr. Reynolds (who had, however, accepted the bishopric of Norwich), Dr. Manton, Dr. Bates, Edmund Calamy, and, above all, Richard Baxter, who, according to Ranke, "was specially suited for the task, because the presence of the dignitaries of the Church, which overawed the rest, never for an instant discomposed his keen and logical argument." These Commissioners were authorised—

"to advise upon and review the Book of Common Prayer, comparing the same with the most ancient liturgies which have been used in the Church, in the primitive and purest times: and to that end to assemble and meet together, from time to time, and at such times, within the space of four kalendar months now next ensuing, in the Master's lodgings in the Savoy in the Strand . . . and if occasion be, to make such reasonable and necessary alterations, corrections, and

amendments therein as by and between you . . . shall be agreed upon to be needful or expedient for the giving satisfaction unto tender consciences, and the restoring and continuance of peace and unity, in the churches under our protection and government; but avoiding, as much as may be, all unnecessary alterations of the forms and Liturgy wherewith the people are already acquainted and have so long received in the Church of England."

But it was necessary to postpone this Conference until the Bishops should be free from the press of business caused by the approaching coronation of Charles II. Cosin's liturgical erudition and his actual experience, gained at the previous coronation, would no doubt be in constant demand during the preparations for the ceremony; whilst, throughout the actual sacring, except when receiving and administering the Blessed Sacrament, he was in immediate attendance on the King, supporting him at his right hand.

Two days later the Conference met at the Savoy, and Sheldon, Bishop of London, to whom Archbishop Frewen of York, though nominal chairman, deputed the management of the business, immediately called upon the Nonconformists to submit their objections to the Prayer Book in writing. Burnet, who had a weakness for attributing motives, said, in the *History of My Own Time*, that "Sheldon saw well what the effect would be of putting them to make all their demands at once. The number of them raised a mighty outcry against them, as people that

could never be satisfied." It is quite possible that Sheldon, who was an astute man of the world and no friend to comprehension, foresaw this result; but, at the same time, it must be admitted that his ruling was simply good chairmanship: the Episcopalian party had no proposals to make, being satisfied with the Prayer Book as it was, and obviously a general discussion without concentrating on particular points would have been, not only fruitless, but conducive to bitter wrangling.

It was, at any rate, agreed, after some little demur on the part of the Presbyterians, that the latter should draw up a list of their exceptions to the existing book, and should also produce an alternative, in accordance with the King's Declaration of the previous October, which had spoken of "additional forms." The latter task was entrusted to Baxter, a man of very genuine piety and of considerable, though perhaps ill-digested, learning, but also of overweening self-confidence and exasperating prolixity. In a fortnight he produced his "Reformed Liturgy"—an achievement which might well have provoked astonishment, had it not been so worthless a production. The changes proposed were so drastic, both in matter and form, so verbose in phraseology, and so suggestive of the hated "Directory," that it is not surprising to find that it was ignored by the Bishops.

But the touching "Petition for Peace and Concord" which Baxter appended to this "Reformed Liturgy" might well have moved the Bishops by its deep concern for "souls that

are dear to Christ," if it had not been so confident in its assumption that the want of reason was entirely on the episcopal side. But the fact is that the Bishops had been already exasperated by the interminable "Exceptions" handed in by the Presbyterians. It may be admitted at once that this latter document contains passages of most earnest appeal and that its whole tone contrasts very favourably with the blunt and taunting style which at times disfigures the episcopal "Answer." But yet it is difficult to see how the Bishops could do otherwise than overrule the majority of the objections advanced. These, excluding those which were admitted by the Bishops, may be grouped under three heads: (1) those which involved a complete breach with antiquity; (2) those which favoured a ministerial autocracy in the conduct of worship; (3) those which betrayed confusion between public and private prayer.[1]

The Bishops' concessions, which were seventeen in number and of slight consequence, will be noticed when the revision of the Prayer Book is considered. Their "Answer," although, as already hinted, not altogether as edifying as a Churchman could wish, is a document of great interest and importance as indicating the standpoint of the Restoration Church; and anyone

[1] Coleridge, in his *Notes on English Divines* (ii. 28), says that the Presbyterians "should have borne in mind that public prayer and private prayer, nay, I may add an intermediate, viz. domestic prayer, are quite distinct—much in each incongruous with the others"; and elsewhere he says that their proposals "would have produced a hierocracy unexampled and insufferable."

who has made a study of Cosin's writings can hardly fail to come to the conclusion that that practised controversialist had a very considerable part in drawing it up and contributed much of its caustic humour. The following passages are, at any rate, worth quoting at length :

"If it be objected that the liturgy is in any way sinful and unlawful for us to join with, it is but reason that this be first proved evidently before anything be altered ; it is no argument to say that multitudes of sober pious persons scruple the use of it, unless it be made to appear by evident reasons that the liturgy gave the just grounds to make such scruples. For if the bare pretence of scruples be sufficient to exempt us from obedience, all law and order is gone. On the contrary, we judge that, if the Liturgy should be altered, as is there required, not only a multitude but the generality of the soberest and most loyal children of the Church of England would justly be offended, since such an alteration would be a virtual confession that this Liturgy were an intolerable burthen to tender consciences, a direct cause of schism, a superstitious usage. . . .

"To that part of the proposal that the prayers may consist of nothing doubtful or questioned by pious, learned, and orthodox persons, they not determining who be those orthodox persons ; we must either take all them for orthodox persons who shall confidently affirm themselves to be such, and then we say first, the demand is unreasonable, for some such as call themselves orthodox have questioned the prime article of our Creed, even the Divinity of the Son of God . . . if by orthodox be meant those

who adhere to Scripture and the catholic consent of antiquity, we do not yet know that any part of our Liturgy hath been questioned by such. . . . It was the wisdom of our Reformers to draw up such a Liturgy as neither Romanist nor Protestant could justly except against; and therefore as the first never charged it with any positive errors, but only the want of something they conceived necessary, so it was never found fault with by those to whom the name of Protestant most properly belongs, those that profess the Augustan Confession. . . .

"The 3rd and 4th proposals may go together, the demand in both being against responsals and alternate readings in Hymns and Psalms and Litany, etc. . . . They would take these away because they do not edify; and upon that very reason they should continue, because they do edify, if not by informing of our reasons and understandings (the prayers and hymns were never made for a catechism), yet by quickening, continuing, and uniting our devotion, which is apt to freeze or sleep, or flat in a long continued prayer or form. . . .

"It is desired that nothing should be in the Liturgy which so much as seems to countenance the observation of Lent as a religious fast; and this is an expedient to peace; which is in effect to desire that this our Church may be contentious for peace' sake, and to divide from the Church catholic, that we may live at unity among ourselves. . . . The fasting forty days may be in imitation of our Saviour for all that is here said to the contrary; for though we cannot arrive at His perfection, abstaining wholly from meat so long, yet we may fast forty days together, either Cornelius' fast, till 3 of the clock afternoon, or St. Peter's fast till noon, or at

least Daniel's fast, abstaining from meats and drinks of delight, and thus far imitate our Lord. . . .

"The gift or rather spirit of prayer consists in the inward graces of the Spirit, not in extempore expressions, which any man of natural parts, having a voluble tongue and audacity, may attain to without any special gift. But, if there be any such gift, as is pretended, it is to be subject to the prophets and to the order of the Church. . . .

"As they would have no Saints' days observed by the Church, so no Apocryphal chapter read in the church, but upon such a reason as would exclude all sermons as well as Apocrypha; viz. because the Holy Scriptures contain in them all things necessary, either in doctrine to be believed or in duty to be practised. If so, why so many unnecessary sermons? Why any more but reading of Scriptures? If notwithstanding their sufficiency sermons be necessary, there is no reason why these Apocryphal chapters should not be as useful, most of them containing excellent discourses and rules of morality. It is heartily to be wished that sermons were as good. . . .

"The offices of the Liturgy being intended for common and general services, would cease to be such by descending to particulars, as in confession of sin; while it is general, all persons may and must join in it, since in many things we offend all. But if there be a particular enumeration of sins, it cannot be so general a confession, because it may happen that some or other may by God's grace have been preserved from some of those sins enumerated, and therefore should by confessing themselves guilty, tell God a lie; which needs a new confession. . . .

"This in brief may suffice here for the surplice; that reason and experience teaches that decent ornaments and habits preserve reverence, and are held therefore necessary to the solemnity of royal acts, and acts of justice, and why not as well to the solemnity of religious worship. And in particular no habit more suitable than white linen, which resembles purity and beauty, wherein angels have appeared (Rev. xv.), fit for those whom the Scripture calls angels: and this habit was ancient. Chrys. *Hom.* 60, *ad Antioch.* The cross was always used in the Church '*in immortali lavacro*' (Tertull.), and therefore to testify our communion with them, as we are taught to do in our Creed, as also in token that we shall not be ashamed of the cross of Christ, it is fit to be used still, and we conceive cannot trouble the conscience of any that have a mind to be satisfied. The posture of kneeling best suits at the Communion as the most convenient, and so most decent for us, when we are to receive as it were from God's hand the greatest of seals of the kingdom of heaven. . . .

"The minister's turning to the people is not most convenient throughout the whole ministration. When he speaks to them, as in Lessons, Absolution, and Benedictions, it is convenient that he turns to them. When he speaks for them to God, it is fit that they should all turn another way, as the ancient Church ever did; the reason of which you may see Aug. lib. 2, *de ser. Dom. in monte.* . . .

"Visitation of the Sick: All which is here desired is already presumed, namely, that the minister [before pronouncing Absolution] shall apply himself to the particular condition of the person; but this must be done according to

the rule of prudence and justice, and not according to his pleasure. Therefore, if the sick person show himself truly penitent, it ought not to be left to the minister's pleasure to deny him absolution, if he desire it. . . .

"The desire that all [the Burial Office] may be said in the church, being not pretended to be for the ease of tender consciences, but of tender heads, may be helped by a cap better than a rubric. We see not why these words [of committal] may not be said of any person whom we dare not say is damned, and it were a breach of charity to say so even of those whose repentance we do not see: for whether they do not inwardly and heartily repent, even at the last act, who knows? and that God will not even then pardon them upon such repentance, who dares say? It is better to be charitable, and hope the best, than rashly to condemn. . . ."

It is difficult not to sympathise with the Presbyterians when, in their "Rejoinder" to this episcopal "Answer," they complain, not only of "the paucity and inconsiderableness of the concessions" made by the Bishops, but also of their "sharp accusations, as if your work were to prove us bad and make us odious." But, again, our sympathies are gradually alienated as we wade through the pages of turgid reiteration; and yet we find passages which carry a certain amount of conviction. Thus, reason is not altogether against those who asked:

"Why will you not yield so much as to change the word Sunday into the Lord's Day, when you know that the latter is the name used by the Holy Ghost in Scripture, and commonly by the

ancient writers of the Church, and more becoming Christians?" [1]

In the matter of the Apocryphal Lessons, the Presbyterians showed themselves not unreasonable, and they neatly appealed to Cosin's *Scholastical History of the Canon*:

"We ask not that no apocryphal chapter may be read in the church . . . but to read them in the same place under the same title, without any sufficient note of distinction, or notice given to the people that they are not canonical Scripture (they being also bound with our Bibles), is such a temptation to the vulgar to take them for God's Word, as doth much prevail and is like to do so still. And when Papists second it with their confident affirmations that the apocryphal books are canonical, well repelled by one of you, the Rt. Reverend Bishop of Durham, we should not needlessly help on their success. If you cite the Apocrypha as you do other human writings, or read them as homilies, (when and where there is reason to read such) we speak not against it."

And they complained, with considerable justification, that "the sense of his majesty's commission" was being frustrated by the denial of a personal, oral conference. When, at last, the Bishops agreed to such a conference, Cosin achieved the distinction of suggesting something really practical. Baxter tells us:

"Towards the end of our meetings, Bishop

[1] It will be seen that Cosin, at any rate, sympathised with this suggestion, and would have introduced some such change in the Prayer Book. See p. 216, below.

Cosins, taking the chair, told us that a very worthy person had offered unto his superiors a Paper containing the way to our reconciliation, which he thought so reasonable and fit, that he desired us to take them into our consideration, and so delivered me the paper. . . . The Paper is as follows:

"A way humbly proposed to end that unhappy Controversy which is now managed in the Church, that the sore may no longer rankle under the Debate, nor Advantages be got by those that love Division.

"1. That the Question may be put to the managers of the Division, whether there be anything in the Doctrine, or Discipline, or the Common Prayer, or Ceremonies, contrary to the Word of God; and if they can make any such appear, let them be satisfied.

"2. If not, let them then propose what they desire in point of Expediency, and acknowledge it to be no more.

"3. Let that then be received from them, and speedily taken into the Consideration and Judgment of the Convocation, who are the proper and authentick Representatives of the Ministry, in whose Judgment they ought to acquiesce in such matters; and not only so, but to let the people that follow them know that they ought not to disturb the Peace of the Church under the Pretence of the Prosecution of Expediency, since the Division of the Church is the great Inexpedient."

Although Baxter "perceived that it was a cunning snare," he drew up an Answer in which eight points were advanced as being "contrary to the Word of God":

"1. That no minister be admitted to baptize without the prescribed use of the transient image of the Cross.

"2. That no minister be permitted to read or pray, or exercise the other parts of his office, that dare not wear a surplice.

"3. That none be admitted in communion to the Lord's Supper that dare not receive it kneeling; and that all ministers be enjoined to deny it to such.

"4. That ministers be forced to pronounce all baptized infants to be regenerate by the Holy Ghost, whether they be the children of Christians or not.

"5. That ministers be forced to deliver the sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ unto the unfit, both in their health and sickness, and that with personal application, putting it into their hands; and that such are forced to receive it, though against their own wills, in the conscience of their impenitency.

"6. That ministers be forced to absolve the unfit; and that in absolute expressions.

"7. That they are forced to give thanks for all whom they bury, as 'brethren whom God in mercy hath delivered and taken to Himself.'

"8. That none may be a preacher that dare not subscribe that there is nothing in the Common Prayer Book, the Book of Ordination, and the nine-and-thirty Articles, that is contrary to the Word of God."

This list of "sinful things" did not hold out much prospect of an accommodation; apart

from the preposterous mendacity of the fifth and sixth items—

"it will be seen that a Puritan clericalism objected to each of the eight in the individual interest of the Nonconformist clergyman, and not in the social interest of the Christian commons, the laity, the parish-congregations of the Lord. It will be seen that the Puritan clericalists objected to five of the eight because these so-called sinful things witnessed on behalf of the universal priesthood against the individual dogmatism or party-dogmatism of Nonconformist clericalism, and because they implied that catholic and universal relation of all mankind to God through Christ Jesus which the Puritan theology denied." [1]

However, it was agreed to hold a formal disputation on the sinfulness of insisting on kneeling to receive Communion. Cosin and Bishop Sanderson of Lincoln were chosen to act, on alternate days, as moderators in the debate, which was well-nigh foredoomed to failure, not only from the fact that little more than a week remained of the four months named in the royal warrant, but also by the unfortunate choice of the chief disputants on either side. On the Episcopalian side, Pearson (the author of the famous *Exposition of the Creed*) was an admirable choice, and nothing could be urged against Sparrow (the author of the *Rationale of the Prayer Book*), but the choice of Peter Gunning was the fatal mistake. Although Evelyn said of him,

[1] Hancock, *The Act of Uniformity: A Measure of Liberation.* C.H.S., xlviii. p. 42.

"He can do nothing but what is well," there seems a fairly general agreement that he was too completely out of sympathy with the Presbyterians and too keen a dialectician for this delicate task.

On the Nonconformist side, whatever might be said for the choice of Dr. Bates and Dr. Jacomb, Richard Baxter was obviously unfit for an office that demanded a capacity to appreciate the position of an opponent and a self-reliance tempered by genuine humility. We can well believe Burnet when he tells us that, on the occasions when oral discussion took place, Baxter and Gunning argued "to the diversion of the town, who thought here were a couple of fencers engaged in a thread of disputes, that could never be brought to an end, nor have any good effect." Certainly the disputants observed "the rigour of the game," with its formal syllogisms, major and minor premises and *ergos* all complete, into the intricacies of which it would be unprofitable to follow them. But it was found impossible to nail Baxter down to plain propositions, and his erratic temperament forced "patient Dr. Sanderson to say, with an unusual earnestness, that he had never met with a man of more pertinacious confidence and less abilities in all his conversation."[1] Collier says that "his talent lay in retiring to foreign

[1] Walton's *Life of Sanderson.* It is to be feared that the Bishop was wreaking vengeance on Baxter, when, in the Preface to the Revised Prayer Book, he declared it hopeless to "expect that men of factious, peevish, and perverse spirits should be satisfied with anything that can be done in this kind by any other than themselves."

distinctions and misapplications of the rules of logic. But whether this involving the argument and raising a mist was art or infirmity is hard to determine." Collier, however, was no more disinterested than the writer of a short but interesting account of the Conference which is preserved among the Danby MSS.[1] He writes that—

"Mr. Baxter made sometimes strange syllogisms and as strange answers to some of ours. The last meeting he said more than once, he was persuaded if it were not imposed there would be more compliants to it; so it was seen what was to be expected from them, that will not endure anything as imposed, and so overthrow all authority and order. . . . Unto those that came with him (Dr. Bates and Dr. Jacomb) he seemed sometimes to speak more and be more strict than they would have him; and to us that heard him, he seemed to show more boldness and ignorance than reason for the most part."

The writer of this account may possibly have been one of the young divines of whom the Presbyterians complained that they interrupted and indulged in scornful laughter. It seems clear that the chairmen did not altogether succeed in preserving order and that a good deal of warmth was introduced into the final stages of the debate. On the day when the King's commission expired, Baxter issued his last contribution to the futile paper warfare: it ponderously applied Romans xiv., xv., to the sinfulness of

[1] Brit. Mus. Add. MSS., 28,053, f. 1.

enforcing the posture of kneeling at Communion, and did but add one final proof of the hopelessness of arguing with the worthy but obsessed divine.

On July 24th the Savoy Conference broke up without having effected anything; the sole motion on which unanimity could be secured was "that the Church's welfare, that unity and peace, and his majesty's satisfaction, were ends upon which they were all agreed; but as to the means, they could not come to any harmony."

It was not easy for contemporaries, it is impossible for us, to apportion the blame for this abortive attempt at comprehension. The fullest account of the Conference is that written by Baxter, the man who was, perhaps, most responsible for its failure. Of what he tells us of Cosin's personal contribution to the discussion a little has already been quoted. He notes three further occasions on which Cosin figured prominently and not altogether advantageously, in his opinion.

"When I began our first argument to prove their impositions sinful, Bishop Cosin was offended at the word 'sinful,' and told me that I condemned all the Churches of Christ, who all of them imposed some gesture or other, as much as that came to, and what intolerable boldness was it in us to charge all the Churches of Christ with sin."

Cosin's interruption, however, merely "sidetracked" the discussion to the question of the

universality of sin. Of another occasion Baxter states :

" When I begged their compassion on the souls of their brethren, and that they would not unnecessarily cast out so many out of the ministry and their communion, Bishop Cosin told me that we threatened them with *numbers*, and for his part he thought the King should do well to make us name them all. A charitable and wise motion ! "

And yet a third time he reports :

" Bishop Cosin called to all the Bishops and Doctors in the room for their votes : All you that think that Dr. Gunning hath proved that Rom. xiv. speaks not of receiving the sacrament, say ' Aye.' And so they all cried, ' Aye.' I told him that we knew their opinion before, and that if this were the use he made of our concession that they should all be present, while ours were all absent (save two or three scholars and two or three gentlemen that stood behind to hear) it showed that their cause was very needy of defence."

The same witness, however, names Cosin (with Bishop Gauden [1]) as willing to make " some moderating concessions," which " the rest came in the end and brake." And in yet another passage Baxter bestows a meed of praise (qualified, of course) on Cosin :

" Bishop Cosin was there constantly, and had

[1] Gauden, although he had helped the Royalist cause incalculably by the *Eikon Basilike*, had preached acceptably before the Long Parliament, had conformed to Presbyterianism, and had managed to retain his preferment.

a great deal of talk with so little logic, natural or artificial, that I perceived no one much moved by anything he said. But two virtues he showed (though none took him for a magician): one was, that he was excellently well versed in Canons, Councils, and Fathers, which he remembered, when by citing of any passages we tried him. The other was, that as he was of a rustic wit and carriage, so he would endure more freedom of our discourse with him, and was more affable and familiar than the rest."

Cosin, then, whatever view may be taken of the points at issue, comes out of the Conference with an enhanced reputation. Morley, whose real goodness of heart was obscured by a vehement manner, seems to have been the most bitter and unyielding of the Bishops. Henchman, subsequently Bishop of London, was perhaps equally inflexible, but was certainly better tempered. Gunning's stiffness has been already mentioned; while Sheldon, when present (which was not often), can have added little to the conciliatory attitude of the Episcopalians. Both sides were at fault, though Hallam was, perhaps, right in deciding that the chief blame ought to fall on the Churchmen (meaning the Bishops). And yet many Churchmen, while genuinely deploring the failure of the Conference, will be inclined to challenge the word "blame." If, for the sake of conciliating a comparatively small number of Nonconformists (for there was no idea on either side of comprehending the Independents and other Separatists), the Restoration Bishops had driven into schism the thousands

of Churchmen to whom the Presbyterian proposals were intolerable, and at the same time had shattered all hope of reunion with the Roman and Eastern branches of the Catholic Church—could we have forgiven them? Can we fail to mingle with our shame at their failure in Christian courtesy a heartfelt, if incongruous, gratitude that they clung so tenaciously to the devotional forms and ceremonies which we have inherited to-day?

CHAPTER VII

THE REVISION OF THE PRAYER BOOK

"Acknowledging that our Liturgy is not absolutely perfect, and that those who most admire it would be glad if these few blemishes were removed; have we not still abundant reason to be thankful for it? Let its excellencies be fairly weighed, and its blemishes will sink into nothing; let its excellencies be duly appreciated, and every person in the kingdom will acknowledge himself deeply indebted to those, who with so much care and piety compiled it."

CHARLES SIMEON.

"We never have, nor do we wish for any alteration in the Liturgy of our Church; we bless God that our lot has fallen in her bosom—that He has preserved in her the essentials of primitive doctrine and a Liturgy so holy; and, although I cannot but think its first form preferable, alteration is out of the question: there cannot be real alteration without a schism; and as we claim to have our own consciences respected, so, even if we had the power of changes, would we respect the consciences of others."—DR. PUSEY.

"I never called it 'an excellent Liturgy' in my life, and I hope I never shall. But it has helped me to see more of the love of God and of the bonds by which men are knit to each other, and to feel more hope as to those whom I should naturally regard as foes, than any other book except the Bible. It is my protection and the protection of the Church against Anglicanism and Evangelicalism and Liberalism and Romanism and Rationalism, and till these different devils cease to torment us, I will, with God's help, use this shield against them, whether other people prefer their party prayers to it or not."—FREDERICK DENISON MAURICE.

IN some notes attached to Cosin's account of a conference between the Archbishop of Spalato

and Bishop Overall, it is claimed that "he had a great part in the conference between the Bishops and episcopal divines and the Presbyterian ministers at the Savoy." But no reference is made to the part he took in the subsequent revision of the Book of Common Prayer; and yet it is in this latter connection that his biographer can claim for Cosin an outstanding place in the annals of the English Church. Never, perhaps, has devotion to a special field of inquiry been better justified than Cosin's lifelong interest in liturgical forms. As Archdeacon, he had interested himself in the question whether the clergy sufficiently studied the Prayer Book, so as to carry out aright its rubrical directions and to defend, if necessary, its doctrinal standards.[1] That he had himself done this, we have tangible proof. He seems to have been first influenced in this direction by the example of his friend of Cambridge days, Hayward, nephew of Bishop Overall.[2]

There is, in the Cosin Library at Durham, an interleaved Prayer Book of 1619, containing notes in Cosin's handwriting,[3] which Dr. Nicholls, in an appendix to his *Commentary on the B.C.P.* (1710), printed as Cosin's original work, although he felt some hesitation as to the

[1] See p. 29, above. As Bishop, Cosin made a point of urging his clergy, and especially his ordinands, to study the Book of Common Prayer.—Granville's *Letters*, Part II. 109 (Surtees Society, 1865).

[2] See above, p. 8.

[3] It has been disputed that the handwriting is that of Cosin. See letters in the *Guardian* for September 26th, October 3rd, 17th, 24th, 1900.

correctness of that attribution. Dr. Barrow reprinted these notes in the Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology as decidedly Cosin's; but after reading what he says in the fifth volume of Cosin's *Works* (pp. xi ff.) and comparing Parker's *Introduction to the Revision of the B.C.P.* (pp. cccxxii ff.), the conclusion seems inevitable that this First Series of Notes was, in the main, the work of Hayward. Cosin copied them, added extracts from elsewhere (including some MS. notes lent him by Bishop Andrewes), and further annotated them from time to time. So that, although it would not be justifiable to quote all these notes as expressing Cosin's own opinions, they can certainly be cited as proofs of his early interest in the Book of Common Prayer; and they are especially important as showing that he had frankly faced the Puritan position.

There is, also, in the Cosin Library an interleaved Prayer Book of 1638, containing, as the catalogue drawn up under Cosin's supervision says, "my own notes and observations upon it, both doctrinal and practical." These notes, too, were published by Dr. Nicholls, and, after a careful examination of the original MS., were reprinted by the editor of Cosin's *Works* (vol. v.), who says:

"The extracts from the Sarum Missal carried on regularly through the series, and those from Lyndwood's *Provinciale*, appear to have been made soon after 1638. The very large extracts from Calixtus [*Exercitatio de Sacrificio Christi semel in cruce oblato et initerabili*] are, of course,

after 1644, the date of its publication; and some are after 1656, the date of the composition of Cosin's work on Transubstantiation, as appears by the reference to it on p. 345. Grotius's Commentaries, first published in 1641, and Ærodius' *de Rebus ab omni Antiquitate Judicatis*, were also, as it seems, read and largely used by him at this time. But it ought to be observed that Cosin, as was natural, made additions to the notes from time to time."

The main interest of this Second Series of Notes lies in the fact that they form a complement to the First Series, and show Cosin to have also faced the Roman position: he certainly believed himself to have "sounded both religions" and to have "anchored in the best." Dr. Nicholls also printed the contents of an 8vo MS. book, containing about three hundred pages, written by Cosin and at the beginning of the eighteenth century in the possession of the Vicar of North Allerton. The MS. of these "Liturgica" (as Cosin called them) has been lost, so that no definite decision can be reached as to their date. The editor of Cosin's *Works* presumed that "most of them were written before 1640, as they contain no reference whatever to the changes that occurred then, and the author speaks as if the Church was in possession of her ordinary powers, and suggests corrections in the rubrics." There are, however, references to the discontinuance of the Prayer-Book services; and at least one note could not have been written before 1643.[1] The chief interest

[1] Cf. *Works*, v. 439, 447, 481.

in this Third Series of Notes is that Cosin's purpose in compiling it was (as he tells us in a prefatory note) to—

"show the points questioned in our order of service to be of more ancient practice in the Church than the later corruptions of the Church of Rome which we have left; and that this Church of ours is not to forsake the primitive Church, to reform herself to other reformed Churches."

There is, then, abundant proof of Cosin's industry in liturgical study from the time of his ordination, and we have already noticed occasions on which his expert knowledge had been recognised and put to practical use. In 1641 a committee, on which Laudians, of course, had no representatives, had been appointed with a view to the revision of the Prayer Book in a manner acceptable to Puritanic views. And, just as recently an attempt to revise the Prayer Book in the latitudinarian interest has induced some of the leaders of the "Catholic" party in the English Church to draw up proposals of their own, so Cosin in 1641 drew up a paper of "Particulars to be considered, explained, and corrected in the Book of Common Prayer." And although the march of events rendered their adoption a very remote possibility, he had sufficient faith in the vitality of the English Church to preserve these "Considerations" and to add to them from time to time during his exile.

Thus equipped, both by the bent of his nature

and by prolonged study, Cosin was clearly marked out as a leader in the liturgical labours which lay before the Restoration Church. He had been invited to attend the Southern Convocation, which had met on May 8th, 1661, and had sanctioned the use of Offices for May 29th (the anniversary both of Charles II.'s birth and return) and for January 30th (the anniversary of Charles I.'s martyrdom). Burnet says that "Sancroft drew for these some offices of a very high strain, yet others of a moderate strain were preferred to them." But Sancroft was not at that time a member of Convocation, although in close touch with what was going on; and, if the statement contains any particle of truth, he must have been acting here as the amanuensis of Cosin, who had appointed him his domestic chaplain. Little reliance, however, can be placed on Burnet's statements when they concern those of whom he did not personally approve. The office for Adult Baptism, necessitated by the growth of Anabaptism, was also drawn up by a Committee of this Convocation; although subsequently incorporated into the Book of Common Prayer, it was not a skilful piece of work, and there is no reason to regret that Cosin can be cleared of all responsibility for it. Recent experiences having suggested the importance of systematic prayer for the divine guidance of Parliament, a form originally issued by Archbishop Laud was adapted and authorised at this time; and steps were taken to revise and promulgate the Canons of 1640; but the bitter feelings roused by their previous publication

were probably fresh in the recollections of the elder members, and the matter was allowed to drop.

The special task committed to Cosin was the preparation of Articles of Visitation for general use, and these he duly presented to the President (Sheldon) in the following March.[1] Nothing more is heard of this Book of Articles after they were submitted to Juxon's consideration; but it is presumable that the questions were substantially the same as the Articles which Cosin exhibited in the primary Visitation of his diocese[2]: these have been printed in the fourth volume of his *Works*, and will be seen to bear a strong resemblance to the other episcopal Articles of Visitation issued in the year 1662.

Two other tasks assigned by Convocation to Cosin, the fulfilment of which can have brought him but little satisfaction, may fittingly be dealt with here. The need of an uniform Order of Consecrating Churches having been felt, on March 22nd, 1661–2, when the revised Prayer Book was in the hands of the Peers, this matter was referred to Cosin's management.[3] On

[1] The authority for all this is Cardwell's *Synodalia* (1842), vol. ii. pp. 631 ff.

[2] See p. 255, above. In Tomlinson's *Prayer Book, Articles, and Homilies*, p. 158, it is suggested very reasonably that the articles exhibited by Morley and nine other Bishops were Cosin's original draft as amended by Juxon.

[3] Amongst the Brit. Museum Add. MSS. is an Office for the Consecrating of a Chapel at Ware Park, the ceremony having been performed by Cosin (between December 1660 and September 1661). Perhaps the skill with which he then adapted Bishop Andrewes' Office may have led to this task being entrusted to him.—See Legg's *English Orders for Consecrating Churches* (H.B.S.), pp. 218 ff.

June 26th we find Bishop Skinner of Oxford writing to Sheldon:

"I well hoped to have seen that uniform Book of Articles before this day, resting assured that no pretences could take off your Lordship's resolution from what so much concerns the honour and peace of the Church. If, with that Book of Articles, an uniform Order of Consecrating Churches and Chapels came along with it, it would add to the general satisfaction, and pleasure me much who am called upon to consecrate a Chapel at Burford."

Here again Cosin fulfilled his task, and on May 2nd, 1663, handed in the Office which he had drawn up, but nothing more is heard of it; perhaps the memory of the odium incurred by Laud, when he consecrated the Church of St. Catherine Cree, intimidated the sub-committee of four Bishops to whom the matter was referred. But, although Cosin's form was not ratified by synodical authority, he used it himself, and it has been printed in his *Correspondence*.[1] It is founded upon the form used by Bishop Andrewes, and afterwards by Archbishop Laud (a form used at this day in Andrewes' diocese of Winchester), but it contains a certain number of variations. A short form for the Laying of the Foundations is first printed. At the actual Consecration, the "founder" meets the Bishop

[1] *Corr.* ii. 175 ff. The title contains the words "According to the Use of the Church of England," and the late Bishop J. Wordsworth decided in his tract *On the Rite of Consecration of Churches* (C.H.S. lii.) that "this is probably the form discussed in Convocation."

at the west door or porch, and presents him with the building with a petition for its consecration. On entering, the Bishop offers a prayer of great length, full of scriptural references,[1] and procession is made to different parts of the church, a short prayer being offered at each for a blessing on the rite proper to that spot: the font, "the place where the lessons are to be read," "the place where Morning and Evening Prayer is made," the pulpit, the pavement (with a prayer for those who should be buried beneath it), and the holy table—"the place of marriage," included in Andrewes' Office, is omitted by Cosin. Matins, with proper sentences, psalms, and lessons, and a special collect, follows the reading of the sentence of consecration; and the Litany, with special suffrages, precedes the celebration of the Holy Communion, at which a "sermon proper for the time" is to be preached and appropriate prayers and thanksgivings are offered. The churchyard is to be consecrated at Evensong, after the proper lessons.[2]

On April 21st, 1662, Cosin was further commissioned to revise the service for November 5th, Gunpowder Treason Day, which had been first put out in 1606. It would have been unfair to expect him to make much of the inflated and undignified

[1] When he consecrated Auckland Chapel, Cosin wisely turned this into an exhortation.—See Wickham Legg, as above, p. 224.

[2] Cosin also drew up a "Form of Reconciling a Church which hath been Profaned"—a special form frequently needed after the profanation of "Commonwealth" days. See Appendix C., p. 369, where three original prayers from the above Consecration Office will also be found.

phraseology which seemed in those days appropriate to State services; moreover, the Office underwent further changes soon afterwards, references to the deliverance from James II. being added, and the Gospel (S. Matt. xxviii. 1–11) being changed, presumably on the ground that ill-disposed persons might apply the story of Judas to William III. Since 1859 English Churchmen have been spared the whole sorry performance.

Meanwhile the actual revision of the Book of Common Prayer had been carried through both Convocation and Parliament. As soon as it had become clear that no working agreement could be reached with the Presbyterians at the Savoy Conference, the House of Commons, with more zeal than discretion, had taken steps to pass a Bill of Uniformity, with an amended Prayer Book of 1604 attached. This had been sent up to the House of Lords on July 10th; but there it had been delayed, no doubt owing to the influence of the Bishops, who could hardly have allowed Convocation to be thrust aside in that fashion. Accordingly, it had been decided that a revision must be pushed through Convocation with all possible speed. Convocation, however, could not meet until November 21st; but there was nothing to prevent a semi-official preparation for the task. And it seems reasonable to assume that it was with a view to this preparatory work that Sheldon and Wren urged Cosin, who had already neglected his diocesan duties for the wider needs of the Church, to hasten back to London. He writes to Sancroft

on September 17th: "Since my Lords of London and Ely will have it so, I shall make all the haste I can to be at London upon the beginning of November."

The conjunction of the names of Sheldon and Wren is significant; for the former was at the time the master-mind in ecclesiastical politics, while the latter was the only Bishop on the bench who could claim any equality with Cosin as a ritualist.[1] Like Cosin, Wren had drawn up a detailed list of desirable changes in the Book of Common Prayer: this was printed by Dr. Jacobson in his *Fragmentary Illustrations of the B.C.P.* (London, 1874); and no one who reads it can fail to see how considerable an influence it had upon the subsequent revision. Apparently, these two, long bound in ties of friendship, were to meet in London three weeks before the meeting of Convocation; and we can picture to ourselves the aged Wren, with his schedule of corrections, and Cosin, with his three Series of Notes,[2] his "Considerations" of 1641, and his *Devotions* of 1627, hammering out in lengthy conferences a scheme of definite proposals to be laid before Convocation at the very earliest opportunity.

The result of their collaboration is to be seen to-day in the Cosin Library at Durham—a Prayer Book of 1619 corrected in Cosin's hand-

[1] The word "ritualist" is used here in its true sense, of one learned in rites, not in its perverted modern use for one addicted to advanced ceremonies.

[2] It seems very likely, from the notes on the revision given by Kennet in his *Register* (p. 566), that these three Series of Notes were used in Convocation itself.

writing, with further corrections which, as we shall see, were made by the Committee of Revisers appointed by Convocation.[1] No doubt other Bishops would drop in, from time to time, and take part in these informal proceedings; so that Clarendon would be justified in saying, "The Bishops had spent the vacation in making such alterations . . . as they thought would make it grateful to the dissenting brethren . . . and such additions as in their judgment the temper of the present time and the past miscarriages required." [2]

Convocation met on Thursday, November 21st, and immediately applied itself to the fulfilment of the King's letter, issued on October 10th, requiring "a review to be had and taken both of the Book of Common Prayer and of the Book of the Form and Manner of Making and Consecrating Bishops, Priests, and Deacons." To avoid undue delay, the Bishops of the Northern Province arranged to sit with their brethren of the South, and the Lower House of the Northern Convocation appointed deputies to represent it at Westminster. Without the loss of a moment, a Committee of eight Bishops was appointed "to meet at Ely House at 5 p.m. each day, except Sunday," to prepare a revision for the consideration of the full body. This Committee consisted of Cosin and Wren, of course, Skinner of Oxford, Warner of Rochester, Henchman of

[1] This, together with Sancroft's fair copy (see p. 197, below), and the final Convocation copy of the revised book, has been printed in Parker's *Introduction to the Revisions*.

[2] Clarendon's *Life* (1827), ii. 118.

Salisbury (later of London), Morley of Worcester (later of Winchester), Sanderson of Lincoln, and Nicholson of Gloucester, of whom three were to form a quorum.

They decided to hold their first meeting forthwith, without adjourning to Ely House, and, having appointed Sancroft, Cosin's chaplain, their secretary, they made such good progress that, as we learn from the minutes of Convocation, quite early on the Saturday morning, the Upper House was able to send down to the Lower House " the first part of the Book already examined and revised by them." This rate of progress was steadily maintained, so that by the following Friday, the 29th, the whole revision was completed, with the exception of the Preface, the details of the Kalendar, the Prayers for those at Sea, and the General Thanksgiving ; and these were added by December 14th. That a work involving so many debatable questions was accomplished in so short a time must be attributed to the preparatory spade-work already described : Cosin produced in Committee the copy of the Book which had been amended beforehand by Wren and himself ; this was submitted to the approval of the Committee and altered, according to their decisions, by Sancroft, the secretary, who thereupon made, in another Prayer Book, a fair copy of the Committee's final recommendations, and this fair copy was submitted, day by day, to Convocation.

By a study of Cosin's corrected copy, of Sancroft's fair copy (now in the Bodleian Library), and of the final Convocation copy (annexed to

the Act of Uniformity amongst the Parliamentary Records), it is comparatively easy to trace, with some degree of certitude, the precise influence exercised by Cosin in this last revision of the Book of Common Prayer. But before proceeding to attempt this, it may be noted that to Cosin, with three others, was entrusted, on December 19th, the work of drawing up a form of subscription to this revised Prayer Book to be signed by the members of Convocation; and his rough draft may be seen in his "Corrected Copy" at Durham. This subscription having been signed by both Houses of Convocation of both Provinces on December 20th, the interest passes to the Houses of Parliament.

The Commons were growing impatient about the delay in considering their Bill of Uniformity, and, on January 17th, 1661–2, a Committee of twenty-four lay Peers and eight Bishops, Cosin amongst them, was appointed by the Lords to examine the Bill. This Committee found certain objectionable features in the Prayer Book attached to it, and, on February 13th, sought the instructions of the House as to "whether they shall proceed with the Book brought from the House of Commons or stay until the other book be brought in." The Bishop of London thereupon reported "that the Book will very shortly be brought in"; but it was not until February 19th that Cosin and certain other Bishops presented the revised Book to the Privy Council. It was introduced by a royal message to the House of Lords on February 25th; and, during its passage through Parliament, Cosin

figures once again in a curious incident. The declaration concerning baptized children, at the end of the Baptismal service, had been miscopied, the word "persons" having been written instead of "children"; and, on May 8th, Cosin informed the Lords that Convocation had authorised him, with two other Bishops, to correct the mistake, "and accordingly they came to the clerk's table and amended the same."

When the Book had, at last, been approved by both Houses and had received the Royal Assent (May 19th), the printing of it was committed to Sancroft's supervision, and we find Cosin anxiously inquiring of him as to its progress through the press. A proof of the elaborate title-page, engraved by Loggan, seems to have been submitted to the Bishop, whose "Corrected Copy" at Durham, with its minute directions to the printer, proves him to have taken a keen interest in the correct and seemly printing of the whole book.

It will now be necessary to pass the Prayer Book under detailed review, and to note (so far as is practicable) the more important points on which Cosin, generally with success, but sometimes in vain, proposed emendations or additions. On the very *Title-page* we owe to him, apparently, an alteration, slight in form, but of very real significance. It was not, indeed, an original suggestion, for it was a return to the First English Prayer Book of Edward VI. The Title in that book ran thus: "The Booke of the Common Prayer and Administracion of the

Sacramentes, and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Churche after the Use of the Church of England"; but since 1552 the words "Of the Church" had been omitted. On Cosin's proposal, however, they were again inserted; and thus we have, once more, in the very forefront of the Prayer Book, a distinct claim that, although national Churches have "authority to ordain, change, and abolish ceremonies or rites of the Church ordained only by man's authority," yet the Book of Common Prayer is in full accord with the theological and doctrinal system of the whole Catholic Church of Christ.

The new *Preface*, so far as we know, owes nothing to Cosin, having been entrusted to Bishop Sanderson, whose well-known moderation and charitable disposition seemed to mark him out for the task. In the old Preface, now headed *Concerning the Service of the Church*, Cosin secured one or two slight emendations which need not be detailed; but it is worth noticing that to the paragraph permitting the saying of the Daily Offices privately in a language other than English, he proposed to add a clause extending this permission to the public use of the colleges of either University and the schools of Westminster, Eton, and Winchester. He had noted in his "Considerations" that Queen Elizabeth had, for the use of such places, "caused the Common Prayer Book to be set forth in Latin, as being the most proper language for them." It was, no doubt, on this ground that the Committee of Bishops accepted Cosin's proposal; but Convocation re-

jected it, it is not easy to see why. He gained his point, however, for the permission was inserted in the Act of Uniformity as a proviso.

To emphasise the importance of the daily recitation of Matins and Evensong by the clergy, Cosin would have had the paragraph ordering this printed in italics. Although this was not agreeable to his fellow Committee-men, they, and Convocation later, accepted his suggestion that " preaching and study " should be omitted as reasonable causes for the neglect of the Daily Offices. In his " Considerations " he had urged that the expression " reasonably letted " " required an explanation (against them that account themselves reasonably letted by any common and ordinary affairs of their own) whether anything but sickness or necessary absence abroad shall be sufficient to excuse them from this duty." And in his " Corrected Copy " he had inserted words which would have necessitated a formal dispensation from the Bishop; but then, as now, the majority of the clergy were not convinced on a point which so nearly touched their convenience, and in Convocation they insisted that the decision as to the reasonableness of hindrances should be left to each curate's private judgment.

An interesting proposal seems to have been made here by Cosin: that the saying of Matins should be restricted to the hours " between six and ten of the clock," and that of Evensong to those " between two and six." No doubt he supported his proposal with words borrowed from his " Considerations " :

"There is no order at what hour the service for morning or evening shall begin, for want whereof in most places, when the morning is past, and when evening is not yet come, those services are commonly begun; which in the morning is cross to those words in the Third Collect for Grace, where we say to God 'Who hast safely brought us to the beginning of this day.'"

Wren, in his schedule of corrections, had suggested other hours, ten to twelve for Matins, and two to four for Evensong; and, to meet the objection raised by Cosin, he had proposed that a rubric should be inserted ordering that, if used after nine o'clock, the words of the Collect should read, "Who hast safely brought us through the beginning of this day." The other Bishops on the Committee seem to have felt that the circumstances of parishes vary so widely that no special hours could be wisely insisted upon.[1]

In the *Order how the Psalter is Appointed to be Read* it is to Cosin that we owe the definite direction that the *Gloria Patri* is to be recited, not only at the end of each psalm, but at the end of each section of Psalm cxix., a matter on which (as stated in his "Considerations") there had been much diversity of usage.

An important point which he raised with regard to the *Order how the Rest of the Holy Scripture is Appointed to be Read* was unfortu-

[1] Wren's proposed hours are nearer those named by Laud in his Autobiography (October 18th, 1639): "The morning service is everywhere to end by twelve at the farthest; so the vespers never begin before three and end by five."

nately neglected. In his "Considerations" he had noted that no guidance was given as to the right procedure in the matter of Lessons, Collects, etc., when there is a concurrence of Holy-days. This is still a *hiatus* in the Prayer Book; for, although at the revision of the Lectionary in 1871 a paragraph was inserted to regulate the Lessons when Advent Sunday clashes with St. Andrew's Day, Easter Day with the Feast of the Annunciation, Whitsunday or Trinity Sunday with St. Barnabas' Day, other similar occasions, which are not infrequent, are left to the discretion of the minister, who would often be glad of authoritative guidance.[1]

In the list of *Proper Lessons* (as elsewhere in the Book) Cosin proposed, or more probably accepted Wren's proposal, that fuller and more accurate titles should be given to some of the holy-days: March 25th, for instance, was to be called "The Annunciation of our Lord to the Blessed Virgin Mary"; "for" (as Wren had written in his schedule), "by our lawyers' leave, 'Annunciation of the Virgin Mary' is a solecism." Various emendations in the Lectionary itself seem to have been due to Cosin, such as the appointment of Proper First Lessons for certain holy-days not previously so distinguished (*e.g.* St. Stephen, St. John Ev.), and contrariwise Proper Second Lessons to other holy-days (*e.g.* Easter Even), and also the correction of various errors

[1] The Southern Convocation in 1879 put forth a "Table to regulate the Service when two Feasts fall upon the same Day"; but this has not given complete satisfaction to liturgical scholars.

due to the negligence of the printers, by which it happened, for instance (as noted in his "Considerations"), that "upon the Feast of the Epiphany for the First Lesson at Morning Prayer is appointed Isaiah xl., which is a lesson that has no relation to the day; it should be Isaiah lx., which altogether refers to the calling of the Gentiles that day remembered."

Cosin and Wren had agreed in urging the importance of appointing *Proper Psalms* for Ash-Wednesday and Good Friday. In Cosin's "Corrected Copy," long lists of appropriate Psalms for each occasion were originally written, presumably with a view to discussion before the final choice; but, even before the question reached the Committee of Revisers, the list for Ash-Wednesday had been reduced to the arrangement finally adopted, which provides for the sequence of the Penitential Psalms. The Good Friday list, too, seems to have been reduced to its final dimensions before the Committee stage was reached. It is a matter for real regret that Cosin's proposal that Proper Psalms should also be appointed for Epiphany, Rogation Days, St. Michael and All Angels, and All Saints' Day should have been rejected by the Committee. Although the Psalms do most strikingly adapt themselves to special occasions, all worshippers must at times have wished that the system of Proper Psalms could be extended; and in 1879 the Convocations agreed that such an arrangement is desirable on the following holy-days: Advent Sunday, the Circumcision, the Epiphany, the Purification of B.V.M., the Annunciation,

Maundy Thursday, Easter Even, Trinity Sunday, St. Michael and All Angels, and All Saints' Day. The details of Cosin's list were as follows :

Epiphany { Pss. li., lxvii. / Pss. lxxii., xcvii.
Rogation Monday—Pss. xii., xlii., lxxxvi., xc., cvii.
Rogation Tuesday—Pss. xxviii., xlii., xlvi., lxx.
Rogation Wednesday—Pss. viii., xix., xxxiii., ciii., civ., cxliv.
St. Michael and All Angels { Pss. xxxiv., lxxx., xci. / Pss. ciii., civ., cxlviii.
All Saints' Day { Pss. i., xv., lxxxiv., xci. / Pss. cxii., cxiii., cxix. (1st pt.), cxlv., cxlix.

In some of these cases Cosin's idea may have been to give a wide choice, for the number of verses does not always seem reasonable in length. Probably the selection for the Rogation Days is that which would be most widely challenged : several of the Psalms named (*e.g.* Ps. cvii.) are obviously appropriate, Pss. ciii., civ. being those appointed for the Rogation Procession in the Elizabethan Injunctions ; but he seems to have been specially concerned to emphasise the penitential aspect of the season, and the omission of such a Psalm as the sixty-fifth is curious. The selection for All Saints' Day is noteworthy as introducing various Old Testament beatitudes, no doubt with special reference to the Beatitudes read in the Gospel appointed for that day.

On the *Kalendar* Cosin's influence has been not inconsiderable, since fuller descriptions of the holy-days were transferred thither from the Kalendar printed in his *Devotions.* Of the three new commemorations introduced in 1661, he

would have gladly acquiesced in that of King Charles the Martyr,[1] while that of the Venerable Bede, on May 27th, must have been especially grateful to a Northern Churchman who had composed an inscription for the tomb of that saint in Durham Cathedral. With regard to the commemoration of St. Alban, we find that Cosin had inserted his name into a Kalendar which he had drawn up for his own use[2]; it is there rightly placed on June 22nd, and it is curious that Cosin, who was usually so alert in detecting clerical errors, should have permitted June xxii. to have been misprinted June xvii.—a mistake which has been perpetuated to this day. It is unfortunate, too, that he did not make any effort (so far as can be ascertained) to secure the commemoration of such Northern saints as Oswald, Aidan, and Cuthbert; and, perhaps, if a Bishop of the Irish Church had been given a seat on the revising Committee, our Kalendar would have been enriched by the addition of St. Patrick's name.

In his "Considerations" Cosin had queried the propriety of commemorating certain saints of doubtful actuality, especially naming St. Catherine and St. Faith; he also expressed doubts in the matter of the Conception of the Virgin Mary, "which was first put in by that party among the papists who believed her to be conceived without original sin; a thing

[1] See Appendix, p. 368, below.

[2] *Works*, v. 225, where we also find the names of St. Cuthbert and St. Thomas of Canterbury, as well as the Assumption of the B.V.M. and All Souls.

offensive to some other part of the papists themselves, as well as to all Protestants." When, however, the opportunity presented itself, he did not press these points. But he supported Wren in the proposal that the English Church should revert to the original custom of making June 29th a joint commemoration of St. Peter and St. Paul: he had printed it so in his *Devotions*, and in his "Corrected Copy" he had not only made the change in the Kalendar, but had also changed the Epistle to 2 Tim. iv. 1–9, and had adapted the Collect to the fuller commemoration as follows:

"O Almighty God, Who by Thy Son Jesus Christ didst give to Thy Apostle St. Peter many excellent gifts and commanded him earnestly to feed Thy flock, and *madst Thy Apostle St. Paul a chosen vessel to bear Thy Name among the Gentiles*; Make, we beseech Thee, all Bishops *and all other ministers of Thy Church* diligently to preach," etc.

All this the Committee seem to have accepted, but Convocation apparently thought that the change was hardly worth the trouble, not realising perhaps that the date under consideration was the anniversary of the translation of the two Apostles' bones.

The *Tables and Rules* are amongst the most striking of Cosin's contributions to the Book of Common Prayer; and all that is of real moment on the page containing them is to be found either in his *Devotions* or in his "Corrected Copy," sometimes in both; while in his "Considerations"

he had pointed out that, although the curate is ordered to "bid the fasting-days," many failed to do so for want of knowing them, and therefore it was desirable that place should be found for a correct list. But on two points he failed to get his way: he would have exempted from the fasting obligation not only a Friday actually falling on Christmas Day, but any Friday within twelve days of Christmas. And further he was anxious to insert a statement that—

"by the ecclesiastical laws of this realm, there be some times in the year wherein marriages are not usually solemnised, as from Advent Sunday until eight days after the Epiphany, from Septuagesima Sunday until eight days after Easter, from Rogation Sunday unto Trinity Sunday."

There are those who maintain that, although no such prohibition has been inserted in the Prayer Book, "it still forms part of the law of the Church."[1] To insist upon the observance of such a law would certainly come hard on those in our great cities who can spare time for a marriage ceremony only on a Bank Holiday; but many a parish priest has wished that the Prayer Book contained a definite prohibition to save him from the odium of declining to take a wedding in Lent and Holy Week.

In the first part of the two *Rubrics*, which should be printed in prominence on the page opposite the opening Sentences of Morning Prayer, Cosin advocated, in vain, the insertion

[1] See Procter and Frere, *History of B.C.P.* (1902), p. 620.

The Choir of Durham Cathedral,
shewing Cosin's Litany Desk, Stalls, and Screen
(the latter since removed). Organ added c. 1690.

(From a drawing by R. W. Billings, 1841).

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of an order that the chancels were to "be divided from the body of the Church." In his Second Series of Notes he had insisted that the words, "the Chancels shall remain as they have done in times past," meant that they were to be "distinguished from the body of the Church by a frame of open work and furnished with a row of chairs or stools on either side"; and both as Archdeacon and as Bishop he made inquiries as to the existence of such screens, examples of which were erected at Brancepeth, Cambridge, and Durham at his instigation.

With regard to the *Ornaments Rubric*, Cosin had, in his "Considerations," urged the advisability of specifying the particular "ornaments used in the second year of King Edward, that there might be no difference about them." Wren had also recommended that a list should be "set down in express words, without these uncertainties which breed nothing but debate and scorn." They had, accordingly, drafted the rubric exactly as we have it now, but with the additional clause, "That is to say . . . ." Obviously the intention was that the row of points should be filled up with a list of the ornaments ordered under the rubric. Cosin's opinion as to what those ornaments were will be fully considered in a subsequent chapter, when a general survey of his views will be attempted.[1] He failed, however, to convince his contemporaries that a definite insistence upon the Eucharistic vestments would be wise in the circumstances of the time; but had his proposal been accepted,

[1] See below, p. 324.

the English Church would have been spared much deplorable controversy and litigation in the nineteenth century.

When we reach the *Order of Morning Prayer*, we find that it is to Cosin's suggestion, apparently, that we owe the addition of the latter part of the last *Sentence*, which previously ran, "If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves and there is no truth in us"; the fuller form is, unquestionably, much more to the purpose.

In connection with the *Absolution*, it was at Cosin's instigation (supported by Wren) that the priest was ordered to "stand." In his First Series of Notes he had copied from Bishop Andrewes the statement that "because he speaks it authoritative, in the Name of Christ and His Church, he must not kneel but stand up"; and in his "Considerations" he had noted a diversity of use among the clergy, some kneeling—"a posture not agreeable to it."

Throughout his "Corrected Copy" we find minute directions to the printer; one of the most interesting of these occurs immediately after the Absolution. Among the notes which he seems to have borrowed from his friend Hayward there occurs at this point the comment: "Here begins the service, for that which goes before is but a preparation to it." His own note, written in the Third Series, explains that "the solemn beginning of our Service with Confession and Absolution serves to put the people in mind that all which follows is the solemn service of Almighty God, preparing them to that inten-

tion of mind and devotion of spirit, which they owe to it and which is requisite to make it acceptable." To emphasise all this, Cosin wished to separate the Office proper quite distinctly from its penitential introduction by printing a new heading, "An Order for Morning Prayer" and by placing above this title "a fleuron and a fair compartment." This proposal, however, did not even reach Convocation, having been negatived in Committee.

Nor did he carry the Committee with him in his desire to have as an Invitatory before the *Venite*, on Sundays, 1 Cor. xv. 20, and on Easter Day, 1 Cor. v. 7; the latter, however, was added to the two sections already appointed for the Anthem to be sung, instead of the Venite, on Easter Day.

Hurrying past various minor points—in view of the doubts which have sometimes been expressed as to the posture of the priest when reciting the *Collects*, it may be worth while to quote Cosin's note, in his Third Series, on the rubric ordering the priest to stand up to say the versicles: "And he is not appointed to kneel down afterwards at the Collects." If he had believed this to be a careless oversight, he would certainly have proposed an amending rubric.

As a great lover of Church music, it is natural to find that the rubric authorising an *Anthem* is in his "Corrected Copy"; but we can well believe that, if he had foreseen the pathetic ambitions of modern choirs, he would have limited the permission to cathedrals and to a few other privileged churches and chapels.

In his "Corrected Copy," too, we find the ill-advised transference of the *State Prayers*, etc., from the Litany to form the concluding section of Matins.

Until the Revision of 1661, the penitential introduction was not actually printed before the Order for Evening Prayer, although a rubric before the Order for Morning Prayer had appointed its use at both services. Cosin's Notes had referred, more than once, to a fairly general failure to obey that direction. He proposed, therefore, a new rubric to be inserted at the head of Evening Prayer; but Convocation decided to print the full form here as well as before Matins, thus removing all excuse for evasion from those in our own days who, not unreasonably, deprecate the repetition of such deeply penitential terms after so short an interval.

A suggestion which will not commend itself to many Churchmen was made by Cosin with regard to the *Evening Collects*: that between the second and third should be inserted one of the Collects printed at the end of the Communion Service, "O Almighty Lord, and everlasting God, vouchsafe, we beseech Thee, to direct," etc. Little, too, can be said in favour of his expansion of the Third Collect:

"Lighten the darkness of our hearts, we beseech Thee, O Lord, and, by Thy gracious visitation and of Thy great mercy, defend us from all terrors and dangers of the night, for the love of Thy only Son, our Saviour Jesus Christ."

Although "perils and dangers" is an unsatisfactory translation of the Latin *insidias*, Cosin's suggestion, "terrors and dangers," is no improvement, whilst his other emendations decidedly mar the beauty of the Collect, as we still have it. Perhaps the only point in his fuller form which is at all desirable is the substitution of the expression "the night" for "this night," the latter being a trifle *mal à propos* when Evensong has to be said in broad daylight. Cosin seems, also, to have put forward the suggestion that the Collect "Prevent us, O Lord," should be substituted for the Prayer of St. Chrysostom at Evensong. But none of these proposals survived the Committee stage.

With regard to the *Litany*, Cosin had deplored the absence of any order as to the time of day, or the part of the service, or the place in the church, at which it ought to be said, "though in the rubric before the Commination it is presumed that a peculiar place is appointed for it, and in Queen Elizabeth's Injunctions that appointed place is said to be in the midst of the Quire, as in Cathedral and many other Churches hath been accustomed." He persuaded the Committee to insert words, which Convocation subsequently struck out, ordering the service to be said "in the midst of the Quire." To him we owe the alternative permission to "say or sing" the Litany, and its definite appointment "after Morning Prayer," by which, however, he did not mean *any* time after Morning Prayer. This arrangement is sometimes sanctioned nowa-

days; but Cosin intended his order to "confine a contentious man," who might, he says in his "Considerations," "take his liberty to say it after Evening Prayer, or at any time on the day, at his own choice."

There is, also, a note on this point in his Third Series, which may well be quoted at a time when most worshippers have come to regard the Litany as an appendix to Matins rather than as a preparation for the Eucharist: "In the rubric before the Commination it is ordered that after Morning Prayer is done (which was then done betimes and while it was yet morning, not put off as since till toward noon) 'the people shall be called together again to the Litany by the tolling of a bell, after the accustomed manner.' So that in those days the custom was to go home after Morning Prayer and to come again to Litany; not to dispatch (as now they do) all at once. In the second of Edward VI. there is a rubric . . . that after the Litany ended, the Priest shall, on Wednesdays and Fridays . . . go to the Communion."

The most significant addition to the Deprecations of the Litany, "from all . . . rebellion and . . . schism," the importance of which had been recently impressed upon Churchmen, is found, in a slightly different form, in Cosin's "Corrected Copy"; but the original idea may have been Wren's, who had something of the sort in his schedule of corrections. The change of "Bishops, Pastors, and ministers" into "Bishops, Priests, and Deacons" was certainly made on Cosin's recommendation; in his "Con-

siderations" he had protested against this use of the word "pastors," as distinct from bishops: "inferior priests were never anciently called pastors."

The first *Ember Collect* is one of the most important contributions made to the Book of Common Prayer by Cosin, who published it originally in his *Devotions*; it filled a very serious gap in the book,[1] and is, moreover, one of the most beautiful prayers within its covers. The Invocation, which is instinct with a glowing but reverential affection, quotes very opportunely a scriptural phrase addressed originally to clergy, "the Church of God which He hath purchased with His own Blood" (Acts xx. 28), whilst the Petition itself is marked by the most skilful and musical duplication of words—"guide and govern," "Bishops and Pastors of Thy flock," "faithfully and wisely," "grace and heavenly benediction." It is not surprising, indeed, that a modern liturgical scholar should have spoken of it as being "not surpassed by anything in the ancient Sacramentaries or the Eastern Liturgies."[2]

Although not especially connected with Cosin,

[1] The saintly Hammond, during the Interregnum, had said that the contempt of the clergy pointed to "a considerable defect. For though the four Ember weeks were according to ancient custom preserved for fasting and praying, . . . yet there being no special service appointed in our Liturgy for those times, it is too probable that duty, being left to every man's voluntary private devotions, hath been very much neglected, which neglect was therefore thus to receive its chastisement from God."—*Minor Theol. Works*, 1849, pp. 308 f.

[2] Blunt's *Annotated Prayer Book*, 1866, p. 63.

it will not be amiss to note here that, although at the Savoy Conference the Bishops had denied the need for any additional forms of thanksgiving, during the course of the revision they admitted their mistake, and with commendable tact entrusted the task of composing a *General Thanksgiving* to Bishop Reynolds of Norwich, who had formerly been a Nonconformist leader. Perhaps not quite so acceptable to the Nonconformists, but certainly welcome to Churchmen generally, was the insertion of the *Thanksgiving for Restoring Public Peace at Home.* The original form of this is found in Wren's schedule of corrections; but Cosin evidently hammered it into such shape as it has, by cutting away its redundancies and introducing a more scriptural phraseology.

In connection with the *Collects*, one striking change advocated by Cosin did not win the approval of the Committee: he seems to have sympathised with the objection raised by the Nonconformists to the non-Christian character of the title "Sunday," and in his "Corrected Copy" inserted such titles as "The First Dominical or Sunday in Advent" (doubtless with a reference to the title found in the Sarum Use, *Dominica I. Adventus Domini*), and as a further suggestion, presumably for discussion, he wrote, "q. Lord's Day." Although uplifting thoughts can certainly be associated with the word "Sunday," "the Lord's Day" is the Biblical title and a singularly beautiful one; it is a pity the Prayer Book does not give more encouragement to its use.

It is in the matter of new Collects that Cosin has left his main mark on the Book of Common Prayer. Besides the Ember Collect which has already been noticed, he can claim our gratitude in respect to four other Collects, which were either composed or adapted by him. The Collect previously appointed for the *Third Sunday in Advent* was as follows:

"Lord, we beseech Thee, give ear to our prayers, and by Thy gracious visitation, lighten the darkness of our heart, by our Lord Jesus Christ."

The Collect composed by Cosin to supersede this is surpassed by no other prayer in the whole Book in its rhythmical beat, and is especially noteworthy as having a marked appositeness to the Embertide which falls in the third week in Advent. Another feature which distinguishes it is the skill with which it gathers up the words of the Epistle and the Gospel: this is of interest, because during the Reformation period there seems to have been a notion that these prayers were called "Collects" from the fact that they were meant to collect the topics of the Epistle and Gospel; but a note in Cosin's Second Series proves that he was aware that the true interpretation of the word was that they were offered before a collection of people, or, more probably, that they were a collecting by one voice of the prayers of many. This Collect, however, is open to two exceptions: it is addressed to the Second Person of the Blessed Trinity, and so breaks the, not invari-

able, rule that a Collect, being part of the Church's sacrificial worship, should be addressed to the Father through the Son. In the second place, it is lacking in the terseness of diction which characterised the ancient Collects of the Church; but, at the same time, it closely follows the traditional structure of a Collect, with its Invocation, commemorating some divine attribute or action, its Petition, expanded into a statement of the benefit expected, and its Conclusion, serving as an act of faith in Christ's mediation or in His union with the Father and the Holy Spirit.

The *Collect for St. Stephen's Day* was expanded by Cosin with very happy results: previously it ran thus:

"Grant us, O Lord, to learn to love our enemies, by the example of thy martyr Saint Stephen, who prayed for his persecutors to Thee; Which livest," etc.

This is so concise as to be almost bald; on the other hand, Cosin's expansion to our present form fails, perhaps, in terseness; and here, again, the Second Person is invoked, but here, if ever, justifiably so, since St. Stephen's prayer, referred to in the Collect, was addressed to our Lord. In this composition we cannot fail to admire the skill with which scriptural phrases are woven together so as to form perfect musical cadences and, at the same time, to set the heart aglow; we feel that we have here the heartfelt utterance of one to whom the harbour-

ing of bitter feelings towards his persecutors had been a very real temptation.

The felicitous changes made in the Collects for *St. John the Evangelist* and for the *Fourth Sunday after Epiphany* cannot be claimed as Cosin's work; but, in connection with the latter Sunday, he suggested, without success, a different Epistle and Gospel: St. Peter's testimony to the manifestation of Christ's glory on the mount of the Transfiguration (2 St. Peter i. 15–20); and St. Matthew's account of the same (xvii. 1–6). In this way the record of the manifestations commemorated in the Epiphany season would have been fittingly rounded off.

A similar proposal by Cosin was the substitution of St. John xv. 1–26 for St Luke xxiii., as the Gospel for *Maundy Thursday*.[1] This passage contains the allegory of the True Vine, a most appropriate Gospel for the day on which the institution of the Blessed Sacrament is commemorated. So thought the Committee, apparently; but, here again, the opinion of Convocation was adverse, perhaps because the change would have broken the sequence of the four accounts of the Passion read as the Gospel throughout Holy Week.

Until this revision, no Collect, Epistle, or Gospel had been appointed for the *Sixth Sunday after Epiphany*, the *propria* for the Fifth Sunday being repeated, if necessary. But the Committee, and Convocation, accepted a new Collect composed by Cosin, and an Epistle and

[1] Cosin tried in vain to get this title inserted in the Prayer Book.

Gospel suggested by him as appropriate. It would, indeed, have been a crime to have deprived our Prayer Book of such a devotional gem as this prayer. Like Cosin's other compositions, it follows closely the regular structure of a Collect, and, although barely escaping the fault of diffuseness, it is perfect in its symmetrical arrangement without any appearance of having been laboured; so, too, it is deeply emotional in tone without any familiarity of address. Its special point is its suitability for the end either of the Epiphany season, or of the Trinity season within sight, as it were, of Advent. It is more often in demand in the latter case; but if Cosin had had his way entirely, the service for this Sixth Sunday would have been appointed for invariable use on the last Sunday after Epiphany.

The other Collect which is, in part at any rate, the work of Cosin, is that for *Easter Even*. This first appeared in the Scottish Prayer Book of 1637, and is believed to have been originally written by Archbishop Laud, who left it in this form:

"O most gracious God, look upon us in mercy; and grant that as we are baptized into the death of Thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ, so by our true and hearty repentance all our sins may be buried with Him, and we not fear the grave; that as Christ was raised up from the dead by the glory of Thee, O Father, so we also may walk in newness of life, but our sins never be able to rise up in judgment against us; and that for the merit of Jesus Christ, That died, was buried, and rose again for us."

It will be seen that Cosin, without in any way obscuring the ideas contained in this Collect, severely pruned it and entirely recast it, so that a particularly clumsy composition became, in his hands, "a very delicate and exquisite piece of skilful workmanship."

This is the estimate of the late Bishop Dowden, a critic of carefully trained judgment, who stumbled, however, into an inexplicable misstatement in connection with the Collect appointed for the *First Sunday after Easter*: he speaks of it as being "with considerable probability attributed to the pen of Bishop Cosin." [1] The facts are, that Convocation transferred the Collect hitherto used on Easter Tuesday to the First Sunday after Easter, on which the Easter Collect had, till then, been repeated. Cosin's proposal was, that on Easter Monday and Tuesday and also on Low Sunday a Collect should be re-introduced from the First Prayer Book issued in 1549, when it had been translated from the Sarum Easter Procession for use before Matins. The Committee, however, rejected it altogether, very much to our loss, for it is a most beautiful prayer, and may well be quoted here, as very slightly amended by Cosin:

"O God, Who for our redemption didst suffer Thy only-begotten Son to die upon the Cross, and by His glorious Resurrection hast delivered us from the power of our ghostly enemies; Grant us so to die daily from sin that we may evermore live with Him in the joy of His Resurrection; through Jesus Christ our Lord."

[1] *The Workmanship of the Prayer Book* (1899), p. 132.

Another point on which it is difficult to forgive his fellow-revisers for thwarting Cosin is in the matter of the provision which he had planned for *Rogationtide*. He had already made a futile effort to introduce Proper Psalms for this season, and now he produced from his *Devotions* a prayer which only needs a little pruning to make it a perfect Collect for use on Rogation Days:

"Almighty God, Lord of heaven and earth, in Whom we live and move and have our being; Who dost good unto all men, making Thy sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sending rain on the just and on the unjust; Favourably behold us Thy people, who call upon Thy Name, and send us Thy blessing from heaven, in giving us fruitful seasons and filling our hearts with food and gladness, that both our hearts and mouths may be continually filled with Thy praises, giving thanks to Thee in Thy holy Church; through Jesus Christ our Lord."

For the Rogation Epistle, Cosin recommended St. James v. 15–19, a passage on the efficacy of prayer; and for the Gospel, St. Luke xi. 1–11, which contains the Lord's Prayer and the Parable of the Importunate Friend.

Among slighter changes due to him, it is perhaps worth noticing, as an indication of his anti-papal attitude, that in the *Collect for St. John Baptist* he secured the substitution of the word "repentance" for "penance," a word which, he says in his "Considerations," "is now abused by the papists."

Naturally Cosin had given much thought to the Office for the *Holy Communion*, and it would be impossible to notice here every proposal advanced by him. But the change in the first rubric has an interest of its own. The Nonconformists at the Savoy had objected that "the time here assigned for notice to be given to the minister is not sufficient." But Cosin had already raised the question in his "Considerations":

"The order appointed for 'the communicants to signify their names to the Curate immediately after Morning Prayer' seems to cross the common custom in all or most places of reading the Morning Service and the Communion Service both at one time. For if they be read at once without any intermission or due space of hours between them, what time or convenience can the communicants have to give in their names or the Curate to take them? Here, therefore, a correction is wanting, what space of time is to be allowed between these two services."

Subsequently Cosin changed his mind as to the best way to meet the difficulty, and proposed that intending communicants should be made to notify the curate "two days before at least"; the Committee, however, preferred "at least some time the day before." In the present abeyance of Church discipline this order is a dead letter, and, in the opinion of many, might well be cancelled with the rubric, at the other end of the service, insisting on a "quorum" at a celebration.

The drafting of the rubric which controls the

position of "the Table" and the priest's position at the Table, seems to have given great trouble. There was evidently much hesitation in deciding whether the priest should stand at the north *side* or *end* or *part* of the Table. This question had been a difficulty from the first, and Cosin had written in his Third Series of Notes:

"There was much ado about the posture of the Table and the priests standing at it in King Edward's time; for in the second year the altar still stood in the usual place, and the priest was appointed to stand before the midst of the altar with his face towards it, and this was confirmed by Act of Parliament. Notwithstanding which Act, there were so many exceptions taken, and opposition made against that order (some standing at the West side of the altar, with their faces turned towards the people, others at the East, and others at the North), that at last they agreed to set forth this rule [north side] in the 5th of King Edward."

The rubric, as finally adopted, is one of the signs of deliberate ambiguity in the Prayer Book, and it is clear that Cosin was in favour of this attempt at compromise, the one for which, perhaps, there is least to be said. He was quite decided in his desire to have "the Table always standing in the midst at the upper end of the Chancel or of the Church where a Chancel is wanting," but in the latter part of his proposed rubric he had written, "the Priest standing at the North side or end of the Table"; on the other hand, the order, printed immediately

before the Prayer of Consecration, that the priest shall stand "before the Table" was inserted on his proposal.

When we reach the *Epistle* and *Gospel* we find Cosin full of suggestions, which were, for the most part, negatived in Convocation. A direction that the Epistle should be read "in the place assigned for it" was rejected; but the addition of the epithet "Holy" to the announcement of the Gospel was approved, as was the order that the congregation shall "stand" for the Gospel. Most unaccountably, Convocation withheld formal sanction for the Ascription of Praise and the Thanksgiving before and after the reading of the Gospel, although Cosin pointed out that then (as now) the custom still obtained. But Convocation was well advised in quashing a proposed rubric, found, not in Cosin's "Considerations," but in his "Corrected Copy," and evidently transferred thither from Wren's schedule of corrections, that "at the end of the Gospel he that readeth it shall say, Here endeth the Gospel." As the late Canon Bright was once heard to ejaculate, when a careless reader interpolated such words, "Thank God, the Gospel is unending!"

When we remember that the singing of the *Nicene Creed*, standing up, was one of Smart's *gravamina* against Cosin in Charles I.'s reign, and that Judge Yelverton, on the absurd principle that whatever is not ordered is forbidden, had maintained that standing, though lawful at the Apostles' Creed, was not so at the Nicene, we can understand Cosin's anxiety that

a rubric should be inserted definitely ordering worshippers to stand at this Creed and permitting them to sing it. These points were raised both in his "Considerations" and in his "Corrected Copy," and were, of course, conceded by Convocation.

For the *Offertory*, Cosin proposed six additional sentences, which he had copied into his First Series of Notes from Bishop Andrewes's MS., and which, since then, had been incorporated into the Scottish Prayer Book. He recommended, further, that the whole number should be printed in three groups, with the final sentence (1 Chronicles xxix. 10–13, 17) standing "in a distance by itself." Wren had advocated a similar arrangement: the first group to cover "all kind of charitable gifts," the second, "freewill offerings to God," and the third, "almsdeeds to the poor." The late Dean Luckock, commenting on the rejection of Cosin's proposal, said:

"It is not easy to see on what grounds he was thwarted; for, providing no obligation was imposed of reciting more than was convenient, the proposed multiplication would have been found most advantageous. To mention but a single example: the Davidic ascription of praise and thanksgiving to God at the Dedication of the Temple, which was among the rejected sentences, would have filled a gap which is sorely felt at every Consecration of an English Church." [1]

The rubric which orders the collecting and

[1] *The Divine Liturgy* (1893), pp. 154 f.

humble presenting of the alms was evidently drafted by Cosin, who had commented, in his "Considerations," on the inconvenience of the earlier rubric:

"which if it should be observed . . . would breed a great disturbance in the Church and take up more time than can be allowed for that purpose. Wherein it is needful that some alteration were made of this rubric; and that the offerings or devotions of the people then collected should be brought to the priest, and by him presented and laid upon the altar or Communion-table for such uses as be peculiarly named in the sentences then read by him."

He also proposed a rubric directing the priest to "offer up and place upon the Table as much bread and wine as he shall think sufficient." To this the Committee agreed; but Convocation differed as to the "offering up," presumably on the ground that this should be done in the prayer immediately following, in which, again on Cosin's instigation, the word "oblations" was significantly inserted. To this prayer Cosin also attempted to restore, from the First Prayer Book of 1549, a commendation of those present in the following terms:

"We commend especially unto Thy merciful goodness this congregation which is here assembled in Thy Name to celebrate the commemoration of the most precious Death and Sacrifice of Thy Son and our Saviour Jesus Christ." [1]

[1] These words were, of course, to be omitted if the priest did not intend to proceed to a celebration.

In this attempt he failed; but he persuaded Convocation to add a commemoration of the faithful departed. In his "Considerations" he had laid his finger on the contradictory nature of the invocation of this prayer:

"In the beginning of the *Prayer for the state of Christ's Church militant*, there be these words . . . 'Which hast taught us to give thanks for all men'; and accordingly in the old form of this prayer set forth in King Edward's time such thanks were given, that one part of the prayer might be correspondent to the other. But here in our form the thanksgiving is omitted, and yet the preface of giving thanks is suffered to stand still . . . we say to God (in effect) that, though He hath taught us to give thanks for all, yet we think fit to let it alone." [1]

Cosin, however, wished to borrow from the Scottish Prayer Book a much more satisfying form than that finally adopted:

"We also bless Thy holy Name for all those Thy servants, who, having finished their course in faith, do now rest from their labours. And we yield unto Thee most high praise and hearty

[1] Elsewhere he had dwelt on the reference here to the title Eucharist: "Thanksgivings follow well, in reference to the Sacrament, from which it is called the Eucharist, because it is always consecrated with thanksgiving, wherein remembrance was made of all the blessings of God's providence, but especially that of our Lord and Saviour. But how 'thanks for all men' should stand here as a preface, and then no thanks given for any men in the process or end of the Prayer, nor no Eucharist follow, (as upon Holydays when there is no Communion, none doth,) I confess I cannot understand."—*Works*, v. 466 f.

thanks for the wonderful grace and virtue declared in all Thy Saints, who have been the choice vessels of Thy grace and the lights of the world in their several generations: Most humbly beseeching Thee that we may have grace to follow the example of their stedfastness in Thy faith and obedience to Thy holy Commandments, that, at the day of the general resurrection, we and all they which are of the mystical body of Thy Son may be set on His right hand, and hear that His most joyful voice, Come, ye blessed of My Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world."

Finally, to bring the heading of the prayer into closer harmony with its wider scope, Cosin altered the words "the whole estate of Christ's Church militant here in earth," to "the good estate of Christ's Catholic Church." This change appears to have been approved by Convocation, both here and in the rubric at the end of the service; but in the final Convocation Copy of the revised Book an order is written, in a strange handwriting, that the title is to "stand just as it was before." It has been suggested that this final change to the old form was made unconstitutionally, after the Book had left Convocation.[1] Curiously enough, the rubric in which the title is quoted was not amended in the same way; and in the Sealed Books delivered to the various Cathedral Chapters and Courts of Law, as well as in many of the Prayer Books printed in Charles II.'s reign, we find in this

[1] Parker's *Introduction to the Revisions of the B.C.P.*, pp. 449 ff.

latter place the proposed emendation, "the good state of the Catholic Church of Christ."

A few of the less important points on which Cosin made successful recommendations may be instanced here. He had, in his "Considerations," forestalled the complaint of the Nonconformists at the Savoy that the *Exhortations* were "unseasonable," and in Committee he proposed that they should be read "in the pulpit after the sermon upon the Sunday or some Holy-day before." He is responsible for the frank use of the term *Absolution*. In the *Proper Prefaces* for Christmas Day and Whitsunday, as previously in the Collects for those Feasts, he had again forestalled the Nonconformists' exception to the use of the expression "this day" throughout the octave. And he secured the explicit permission to "sing" the *Sanctus*.

Amongst a number of slighter changes which he proposed without success, we may note the following expansions: in the *Invitation*, "Draw near with full assurance of faith" (Blunt says, "probably with the view of indicating that the Invitation is now for an approach of the heart, not of the body"); in the *Prayer of Humble Access*, "to drink His Blood in these holy mysteries" (presumably, to bring out the truth of the Real Presence); and in the *Prayer of Consecration*, "a perpetual memory of that His precious Death and Sacrifice" (obviously, to emphasise the sacrificial aspect of the Blessed Sacrament).

The most fundamental of all the changes urged by Cosin were those which concerned the

central and culminating section of the Holy Eucharist. In the first place, he would have completely recast the *Canon* and restored it to something like its primitive form. This seems to have been an almost lifelong project. He had copied into his First Series of Notes, and by interlining had made his own, Hayward's statement that—

"in King Edward's first Service-book, this prayer [of oblation] was set before the delivery of the Sacrament to the people and followed immediately after the Consecration; and certainly it was the better and more natural order of the two; . . . in regard whereof I have always observed my lord and master Dr. Overall to use this oblation in its right place, when he had consecrated the Sacrament to make an offering of it (as being the true public sacrifice of the Church) unto God, that by the merits of Christ's death, which was now commemorated, all the Church of God might receive mercy, etc., as in this prayer; and when that was done he did communicate the people, and so end with the thanksgiving following hereafter. If men would consider the nature of this Sacrament, how it is the Christian's sacrifice also, they could not choose but use it so too; for as it stands here it is out of his place. We ought first to send up Christ unto God, and then He will send Him down unto us."

In his Second Series, Cosin had made a brief note to the same effect; and in his Third Series he had drawn up a careful *résumé* of the Office as it had been ordered in the First Prayer Book

of 1549. In 1661 he did not contemplate bringing back the whole Service to the former order; but he cherished the hope that his fellow-revisers would approve the following re-arrangement of the latter part:

The Preface with the Sanctus.
The Prayer of Consecration.
The Prayer of Oblation.
The Lord's Prayer.
The Prayer of Humble Access.
The Priest's Reception and the Administration.
The Agnus Dei with other Sentences.
The Prayer of Thanksgiving.
The Gloria in Excelsis.
A final Collect or Collects.
The Blessing.

But Cosin's hopes were disappointed even in Committee, where Sancroft, as secretary, had to write, "My Lords the Bishops at Ely House ordered all in the old method." Even then, Cosin does not seem to have abandoned all hope of getting his way in this matter; apparently he instructed Sancroft to insert in the Fair Copy of the Committee's recommendations an extra leaf on which his pet project was fully written out, with a note explaining that it was "left to censure." But Convocation proved no less obdurate than the Committee, and a most favourable opportunity of amending one of the weakest features of our Prayer Book was lost. There are, to-day, hundreds of English Churchmen who, if asked what they would consider the most pressing need in a revision of the Book of Common Prayer, would unhesitatingly single out some such re-arrangement of the

Canon as that upon which Cosin had set his heart.

Perhaps the next most important change such Churchmen would urge would be the restoration to the Prayer of Consecration of an invocation of the Holy Spirit. This, too, Cosin advocated, and in his "Corrected Copy" inserted a cautious *Epiclesis*, not unlike the forms in the First English Prayer Book and in the Scottish Prayer Book of 1637.

"Vouchsafe, by the powers of Thy Holy Word and Spirit, so to bless and sanctify these Thy gifts and creatures of Bread and Wine that we, receiving them according to Thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ's holy institution," etc.

There was surely some malign influence at work when Convocation was led to reject this recognition of our dependence upon the operation of the quickening Spirit for the efficacy of the Blessed Sacrament.

It was readily agreed that the *Manual Acts*, including the Fraction of the Bread ("a needful circumstance belonging to this Sacrament," Cosin says), should be definitely ordered, a point which had been "conceded" to the Nonconformists at the Savoy Conference, but which Cosin had already raised in his "Considerations."

He evidently had no doubt as to the celebrant's posture and procedure when communicating himself, but he asked for a clear "direction for his kneeling . . . and for the words which he is then to say . . . lest otherwise some con-

tentious minister might say that he is not enjoined to kneel in this holy action himself, nor to say any words at all when he takes the Sacrament." His anxiety was due, no doubt, to the Nonconformist objection to receiving the Holy Communion kneeling. He also desired that the primitive rule should be enforced by which the communicant was required to say "Amen" at the end of the first half of the *Words of Administration*. There need be little or no regret that on none of these points did his views prevail.

He was more successful in proposing clear guidance for the priest "if the Consecrated Bread or Wine be all spent"; but his rubric, though adopted, is not an entirely satisfactory arrangement, emphasising too strongly the mere recital of the Words of Institution, and not even insisting upon the full form.

With regard to the *Prayer of Oblation*, Cosin planned a return, not only to the proper position in the Office, but also to a fuller form, derived from the Prayer Book of 1549 but influenced also by the Scottish Prayer Book:

"Wherefore, O Lord and heavenly Father, according to the institution of Thy dearly beloved Son our Saviour Jesus Christ, we, Thy humble servants, do celebrate and make here before Thy divine Majesty with these Thy holy gifts the memorial which Thy Son hath willed and commanded us to make; having in remembrance His most blessed Passion and Sacrifice, His mighty Resurrection, and His glorious Ascension into heaven, rendering unto Thee

most hearty thanks for the innumerable benefits procured unto us by the same; and we entirely desire Thy fatherly goodness mercifully to accept this our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, most humbly beseeching Thee to grant that by the merits and death of Thy Son Jesus Christ now represented before Thee, and through faith in His Blood, Who maketh intercession for us at Thy right hand, we and all Thy whole Church may obtain remission of our sins and be made partakers of all other benefits of His Passion. And here we offer and present unto Thee, O Lord, ourselves," etc.

Both Convocations in 1879 recommended that the *Post-Communion Thanksgiving* should be said as well as the Prayer of Oblation; but this was little more than a pious opinion which has led to no definite action. If Cosin had had his way in 1661, this Thanksgiving, so beautiful both in form and matter, would not have remained a mere alternative to so essential a portion of the service as the Prayer of Oblation. So far as the present order goes, and in view of the modern craving for short services, it can justifiably be used only when the Holy Communion is celebrated twice at the same altar on the same day.

When the final rubrics of the Communion Service came under review, Cosin suggested that the implied sanction for the use of *Wafers* should be made explicit, since it had been "questioned whether by virtue of this order any Church is restrained from their custom of using wafers at the Sacrament." The *Wine*, according to his

proposed rubric, was to be " the best and purest that may be had." He was responsible, too, for the additional words forbidding an abuse which he had noted in his "Considerations," and limiting the curate's perquisite to the unconsecrated bread and wine in clear distinction from the consecrated Elements, which are to be " reverently " consumed in the sanctuary.

In the *Baptismal Office*, Cosin very characteristically inserted the rubric insisting on the use of " pure water." He and Wren seem to have agreed in urging that, in the first Question to the Sponsors, the solecism " Dost thou . . . forsake the devil, etc. ? " should be rectified by the use of the more exact word " renounce." And Cosin was responsible, apparently, for the introduction of the Vow of Obedience, which was, of course, nothing more than an expansion of the first Vow, but was desirable as a harmonisation of the Office and the Catechism.

The *Hallowing of the Water*, which had been temporarily lost, was restored in Cosin's " Corrected Copy," though not in precisely the same form as that finally adopted ; and in the *Final Exhortation* he successfully proposed the substitution of the expression, now somewhat equivocal, " the vulgar tongue " for " the English tongue," on the ground that " children of strangers, which never intend to stay in England, are often brought to be baptized, and should not be enjoined to learn those principles of religion in the English tongue only."

But, doubtless very much to his disgust, Cosin failed to achieve his purpose of amending

the words in the *Reception* of the Child, "We receive this child into the congregation of Christ's flock." The word "congregation" is, he says—

"a new word, never used by any former liturgy or ancient writer in the Church. It were, therefore, requisite for the avoiding of that exception which the Roman Catholics with some advantage to themselves take against it, that wherever this word is found in the whole book (as in divers Collects and in the Gospel upon St. Peter's Day it is), it may be altered and put into the old usual expression of the word, that is, 'Church of Christ.'"

Elsewhere he managed to dislodge the obnoxious word; but here, where it is least consonant to the nature of the action, he could not convince a majority of the Committee, although he was supported by Wren, who had suggested the compromise, "Christ's Church and the congregation of His flock."

In the rubrics at the end of the Catechism relating to *Confirmation*, Cosin seems to have been responsible for the reference to the "competent age" of the candidates, which, it is sad to find, he specified in his Third Series of Notes to be "between fourteen and sixteen years of age." He would have added words making it obligatory that candidates should be "presented to the Bishop in some church which he shall appoint," for, as he wrote in his "Considerations," such an order "would avoid the offensive liberty that herein hath been commonly taken to confirm children in the streets,

in the highways, and in the common fields, without any sacred solemnity."

In his "Corrected Copy" he had inserted a long Preface, really an Address, intended to be prefixed to the present, not wholly satisfying *Preface*, which had been hitherto a rubric and, like most rubrics, made no reference to the spiritual nature of the action in hand. It is easy to sympathise with the Committee's decision that Cosin's Preface was too ponderous, but something of the sort might well have been substituted.

The *Ratification of the Vows* was added on Cosin's proposal, presumably to bring the Office into closer harmony with the Preface; but he would have preferred a much fuller form, with a particular renewal of each of the three Vows, followed by an aspiration to be uttered by the Bishop:

"Almighty God, Who hath given you the will to promise and undertake all these things, grant you also power and strength to perform the same, that He may accomplish the good work which He hath begun in you; through Jesus Christ our Lord."

This renewal of the Vows, though a most edifying feature, has been a fruitful source of misapprehension, leading many to form the unscriptural notion that this ceremony, arranged by man, is of greater importance than the actual ordinance prescribed by God.

Cosin suggested an *Epistle* (Acts viii. 12–18) and a *Gospel* (St. Luke ii. 40) for use before

the Laying-on of Hands. These, though well chosen, would have unduly complicated a service which gains in impressiveness by its simplicity of structure, and they were wisely discarded by his fellow-revisers, who allowed him, however, to restore the *Dominus vobiscum* and to introduce the *Lord's Prayer* (without which no office can be regarded as complete) and the final Collect.

The Nonconformists at the Savoy had objected to the expression in the *Marriage Service* "till death us depart." Cosin's "Corrected Copy" contains the ingenious substitution of "do part" for "depart," which had already lost its original sense of "part asunder." In addition to the ring, he would have had the bridegroom produce "other tokens of spousage, as gold, silver, or bracelets," a custom prescribed in the First Prayer Book and still observed, Cosin says, "in the north part of the Kingdom."

In his "Considerations," in view of the change in the common use of the word "worship," he proposed that an explanation should be attached to the expression "with my body I thee worship." At the Savoy Conference the Puritans had been promised that the word "honour" should be substituted, and this pledge was honourably fulfilled in Committee; but Convocation restored the original term. This is, no doubt, an excellent word on the lips of those who know its true significance, but it provokes derision on the part of the ignorant, and in the minds of many it introduces an element of unreality at a very solemn moment.

Wren, with Cosin's support, wished to add to the old rubric, which insisted on the newly married at once receiving the Holy Communion, the words "unto which the minister is now to proceed, reading the Offertory, etc." All this, however, was reduced to the recommendation now printed in the Prayer Book; and although the infrequency of Communions at weddings is a very deplorable feature of modern life, those who are responsible for the guardianship of the Blessed Sacrament can hardly regret that all newly married persons are now not forced to communicate.

Of the proposals made by Cosin in the Offices for the *Visitation* and the *Communion of the Sick*, attention need be drawn only to the beautiful Aaronic blessing added to the former office on his recommendation: "Unto God's gracious mercy and protection we commit thee. The Lord bless thee," etc.

In the *Burial Service*, Cosin was responsible for the rubric forbidding its application to the unbaptized, the excommunicated, and suicides. This direction is a prolific source of difficulty to the clergy in these days of frequent suicides and fatuous juries, but the principle underlying the rubric is obviously sound and righteous.

The Bishops at the Savoy had agreed that the words "sure and certain" should be left out of the *Committal*, and, consequently, Cosin suggested "in a general and joyful hope of resurrection." The Committee left this with a "q." (*i.e.* query); but Convocation repudiated the concession, though the "hope" was made a

little more general by the addition of "the" before "resurrection."

In his "Considerations" Cosin had complained that, at the *Churching of Women*, owing to the absence of any order as to the habit in which the woman should be dressed or as to what time after her recovery she should come, there had been "too much liberty taken" and too many questions had been raised. To meet the difficulty he drafted the following rubric:

"The woman, a month after her delivery, being recovered, shall, upon some Sunday or other Holy-day, come, decently vailed, into the Parish Church, and, at the beginning of the Communion Service, shall kneel down at some convenient place appointed unto her by the Minister before the Holy Table, at which he standing shall thus direct his speech to her."

Convocation, while making the directions a little fuller, left them quite indefinite.

The Ministers at the Savoy had taken exception to Ps. cxxi., hitherto appointed in this service, as being "not so pertinent as some others, viz., as Pss. cxiii., cxxviii. The Bishops unaccountably declared Ps. cxxi. "more fit and pertinent than those named." In the course of revision, however, they substituted Ps. cxvi., and as an alternative Ps. cxxvii., the latter being, apparently, Cosin's choice.

Various slight changes, due to Cosin, in the *Commination Service* need not be particularised; and in the *Ordinal* the only clear indication of his influence is the introduction of his transla-

tion of the *Veni Creator*, which has been already noticed.[1]

This review of the Book of Common Prayer, though inevitably tending to tediousness, has taken no cognisance of a host of minor changes, attributable more or less certainly to Cosin. But it can hardly have failed to prove that he left a profound mark upon our services, more profound, indeed, than that left by any of the other revisers in 1661, not even excepting Bishop Wren. The late Mr. Parker, after making elaborate calculations, came to the conclusion that—

" of the corrections made finally in the revision of 1661 [there were about 600 in all], about ninety out of every hundred are due to suggestions which are found in Bishop Cosin's 'Corrected Copy'; a small proportion have undergone some modification from what he wrote, but upwards of seventy may be said to present the *ipsissima verba* of Cosin's original copy." [2]

But Mr. Parker failed to attach sufficient importance to Wren's proposals, many of which were incorporated by Cosin, presumably during their initial collaboration.

A point which clearly emerges is that, after the failure of the Savoy Conference, Cosin abandoned all hope of conciliating the Puritans by concessions, and did his utmost to tune the Prayer Book up to a pitch of advanced Churchmanship. He did not, as repeatedly noted above, entirely succeed in these efforts; but it

[1] See p. 50, above. [2] *Introduction*, p. 387.

would not be unfair to attribute to his influence, more than to that of any one else, the fact that Baxter pronounced the Prayer Book, as revised, "more grievous than before," and that, on behalf of the Nonconformists, it was proposed in the House of Lords that the revisers' efforts should be ignored and the Book remain as hitherto.

The result was a most deplorable schism: about 1,200 ministers (in addition to the 800 who had been deprived under the Act of the Convention Parliament) refused to conform, some of them, like Baxter, retiring into lay communion, but the majority forming, so far as the persecuting zeal of Church and State permitted, separate congregations. A Hundred Years' War had thus ended in the apparent defeat of Puritanism; but the fact that vast numbers of the nation now stand aloof from the Church's ministrations and find it difficult to restrain their resentment at the position she holds as the so-called "National" Church, can only lead to the reflection that she had gained but a Pyrrhic victory.

To those, however, who have found satisfaction within her pale, the Book of Common Prayer is a treasured possession. It is, to-day, substantially as it left the hands of the revisers in 1662. Drastic alterations proposed in 1689 were happily averted. Throughout the eighteenth century revision was in the air, but did not materialise. In 1871 the Lectionary was revised, though none too wisely. In 1872, and again in 1906, the Crown issued Letters of

Business authorising a new revision; but while a majority, perhaps, of Churchmen would warmly welcome an appendix, sanctioning additional forms to meet the needs of modern developments, comparatively few would care to see an actual revision of the present Book. It has served for many years as a broad basis on which all schools of thought in the English Church have found common ground; and the testimonies quoted at the head of this chapter from the great Evangelical leader, the great Tractarian, and the great Liberal Churchman, should give pause to those who expect anything but disaster from a far-reaching revision at the present time.

CHAPTER VIII

EPISCOPATE

"They that shall be of thee shall build the old waste places: thou shalt raise up the foundations of many generations; and thou shalt be called, The repairer of the breach, The restorer of paths to dwell in."—ISAIAH lviii. 12.

IT is now necessary to retrace our steps and to consider Cosin's movements, not as a learned prelate of the Church, but as the zealous bishop of a diocese. To this office he had been consecrated, with six others, in Westminster Abbey, on Advent Sunday, December 2nd, 1660, when the sermon had been preached, at Cosin's request, by William Sancroft, the man who had helped him to ward off starvation in his exile and whom he was now resolved to help up the ladder of preferment. This sermon,[1] which Cosin insisted on being "printed on a fair paper with a good large letter," including the Bidding Prayer "at full length," was on St. Paul's words in the Epistle to St. Titus, i. 5, "For this cause left I thee in Crete, that thou shouldst set in order the things that are wanting, and ordain elders in every city, as I had appointed thee."

As with Cosin, thirty-four years before, at the consecration of Francis White,[2] it was a great opportunity for Sancroft to prove his

[1] D'Oyly's *Life of Sancroft* (London, 1821), ii. 305 ff.

[2] See p. 36, above.

eloquence and learning. His sermon was quite as controversial, as against both Rome and Geneva, as that of Cosin in 1626; it was quite as humorous, too, with a more subtle if less telling humour; and it was even more pedantic, with many Greek quotations and references to classical mythology; but it was marked, perhaps, by greater dignity and unction.

The Bidding Prayer is certainly striking, and expands very skilfully the form provided as an outline in the Canons: thus, the special petition for the Churches of England, Scotland, and Ireland is, "that the God of peace, Who maketh men to be of one mind in a house, would make us all of one soul and of one spirit, that again we may meet together, and praise Him with one heart and mouth, and worship Him with one accord in the beauty of holiness"; whilst that for "the whole Commons of this realm" is, "that remembering from whence they are fallen, they may repent and do the first works."

As published, the Dedication is also most striking; and it is so whole-hearted a tribute to Cosin that it must be printed at length in the original, which will not admit satisfactory translation into English. Some allowance must always be made for the rhetorical exaggeration expected at that time in a Dedication; but Sancroft was not the man to indulge in servile flattery, and it is much to Cosin's credit that such a man should publish his sermon as "a token and memorial of unalterable regard," and should speak so unreservedly of his constancy and dauntless courage, his unswerving loyalty

to truth, and his lofty indifference to cajolery or defamation.

REVERENDO

IN CHRISTO PATRI, AC DOMINO,

DOMINO JOHANNI,

EPISCOPO DUNELMENSI,

EOQUE NOMINE JURA HABENTI COMITIS PALATINI,
SACRÆ THEOLOGIÆ PROFESSORI,
VETERIS SCRIPTURARUM CANONIS ADSERTORI ET VINDICI,
ECCLESIÆ PETROBURGENSIS EX-DECANO,
DUNELMENSIS DECANO DESIGNATO, DIU CANONICO,
JAM ETIAM Κανόνι,
ANGLICANÆ ET FILIO ET PATRI OPTIMO,
ROMANÆ HODIERNÆ, ET NUPRÆ, OPPUGNATORI STRENUO
VETERIS ET PRIMITIVE, UT
CATHOLICÆ ADMIRATORI PERPETUO
ET CULTORI DEVOTISSIMO,
Ὁμοψηφῳ και Ὁμοψύχῳ·

VIRO,

QUI, IN UTRIUSQUE FORTUNÆ SEU DURIS, SEU LUBRICIS,
EODEM ANIMI TENORE USUS,
NONDUM PAR ANIMO PERICULUM INVENIT:
CUI, BONÆ, MALÆQUE FAMÆ MEDIO PERGENTI,
NEC AB EA, QUAM FIXERAT ECCLESIA,
VERITATIS LINEA RECEDENTI USPIAM,
(UTPOTE NEC HUJUS CONVITIIS TERRITO, NEC ILLIUS
ILLECEBRIS DELINITO;)
UBIQUE SUI SIMILI, UNDIQUE Τετραγώνῳ,
CESSIT TANDEM CALUMNIA,
NON VICTA SOLUM, SED ET TRIUMPHATA,
ET, QUANTUMVIS GARRULA, OBMUTUIT:

HANC CONCIUNCULAM,

EJUS JUSSU CONCEPTAM, NATAM AUSPICIIS,
HORTATU, ET MANDATO IN LUCEM EDITAM,*
PERPETUÆ OBSERVANTIÆ PIGNUS, et Μνημόσυνον,
L. MQ. D.D. CQ.

GUILHELMUS SANCROFT,

PRESBYTER INDIGNUS,
PATERNITATI EJUS A SACRIS.

* Ne iis quidem omissis, quæ, præ fuga temporis, viva vox exequi non potuit.

Another sermon, preached later that same day in the Abbey by Dr. Hardy, Dean of Rochester, a Puritan who was yet a courageous loyalist and Episcopalian, was also published, under the title, "The Hierarchy Exalted and its Enemies Humbled"[1]; and in the Preface the reader is told that—

"it was designed for no other end but to be a congratulatory Appendix to the solemn consecration of those seven bishops: and as it was preached upon short warning, so it had never been exposed to public view; but that it was required by them, and particularly by my Lord Bishop of Durham, whose judgment I had great reason to prefer before my own; nor can I but account it a high honour to be in any kind owned by him, who hath so resolutely owned this Church of England, both at home and abroad, asserting her Doctrine against the Papists, and Discipline against the Schismatics."

Although much strenuous work awaited him in his diocese, Cosin could not be immediately spared from the capital, where, as recounted in the two previous chapters, matters of ecclesiastical polity affecting the whole Church and realm needed his ripe scholarship and shrewd knowledge of affairs. It was not until August, after the conclusion of the Savoy Conference, that he was allowed to make his way northward, and then only for a brief visit of three months' duration.

His State Entrance into the diocese may be

[1] London, 1661, 4°. For Hardy's loyalty and courage, see Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, ii. 465.

described in his own words, written to Sancroft:

"I received yours of August 13th, immediately after my solemn reception into the Church and singing the Te Deum there, wherein there was nothing wanting but your assistance. The confluence and alacrity both of the gentry, clergy, and other people was very great; and at my first entrance through the river of Tees there was scarce any water to be seen for the multitude of horse and men that filled it, when the sword that killed the dragon was delivered to me with all the formality of trumpets and gunshots and acclamations that might be made.[1] I am not much affected with such shows, but, however, the cheerfulness of the country in the reception of their bishop is a good earnest given for better matters which, by the grace and blessing of God, may in good time follow here among us all."

To estimate aright the work that lay before Cosin, it is necessary to bear in mind the peculiar state of affairs at Durham, where, until comparatively recent times, the Bishop has been something more than the ecclesiastical ruler of

[1] Cf. Surtees's *Hist. Durh.* iii. p. 243. "At the first entry of the bishop into his diocese, the Lord of Sockburn, or his steward, meets him in the middle of the River Tees, at Nesham Ford or on Croft Bridge, and presents a faulchion to the bishop with these words: 'My Lord Bishop, I here present you with the faulchion wherewith the champion Conyers slew the worm, dragon, or fiery flying serpent, which destroyed man, woman, and child; in memory of which the King then reigning gave him the manor of Sockburn, to hold by this tenure, that upon the first entrance of every bishop into the country, this faulchion should be presented."

a diocese. A glance at the cover of this volume will show that with the Bishop of Durham's mitre a crown is associated, and with his pastoral staff a sword. We are here reminded that, from Anglo-Saxon days, the Bishop ruled "the patrimony of St. Cuthbert"—"the Bishopric,"[1] as it came to be called—with regal sway. William the Conqueror, glad to have an heirless nominee of his own on the Scottish border, confirmed the immunities and privileges by which the Bishop of Durham was a Prince Palatine, with his own officers and courts of justice, issuing in his own name writs and pardons, holding his own parliaments, and, if he so desired, coining his own money.

In the reign of Henry VIII., however, these privileges were, for the most part, withdrawn, and "the Bishopric" was brought under the direct jurisdiction of the King. But the Bishop was still a great landowner and temporal lord, and it was customary to bestow upon him the office of Lord Lieutenant of the County Palatine. To this office Cosin was duly appointed on August 29th, 1661; and lists of deputy-lieutenants nominated by him are, from time to time, found in the State Papers. But he lost, without compensation, the ancient feudal rights of wardship, etc., which still attached to his see, similar rights elsewhere being at the same time surrendered by the King—in return, how-

[1] The bishopric of Durham must be distinguished from the diocese of Durham: roughly speaking, the bishopric consisted of Durham, while the diocese included Northumberland as well.

ever, for a money-payment. To one relic of the past he was misguided enough to cling—his right to be the sole representative of "the Bishopric" in Parliament; but of this more will be said when his Parliamentary record is considered.[1]

Further proof of Cosin's tenacity in clinging to the rights of his see can be found in the State Papers of 1665–6,[2] where letters from Dr. Carleton (Dean of Carlisle and Prebendary of Durham) and others complain that the Bishop has usurped royal rights and flouted the King's authority in connection with Sir Henry Vane's estate:

"The first public act that he did for the country to take notice of, after he came down Bishop of Durham, was an usurpation of his Majesty's rights by seizing upon the forfeitures due upon the attainder of Sir Henry Vane, and not only receiving of rents which were in arrear, but suing the poor tenants, compelling them to swear upon oath what money any man had remaining in his hands, and obtained a decree in his own Court to the great costs of the poor tenants. . . . Secondly, when he heard that some were coming, by the King's authority, to seize upon that estate for his Royal Highness, the Bishop put soldiers into Raby Castle to keep it against the King and the Duke, having first set ladders to the walls and gone over, broken open the gates, took away all the goods with eighteen wild beasts out of the park, and a horse out of the stable, all this in open

[1] See p. 287, below.

[2] July 18th, November 6th, January 30th, February 5th.

contempt of his Majesty's authority. Thirdly, when the King's receiver had summoned a Court to be kept at Barnard Castle for his Majesty, the Lord Bishop sent a prohibition under his hand and seal to charge all the tenants of Barnard Castle Lordship not to appear at that Court, nor to own that authority by which it was called. And yet neither himself nor any of his predecessors ever kept Court there, nor did any bailiff of the Bishops of Durham ever dare so much as to serve a writ upon any man in Barnard Castle Lordship. The peremptory style of the prohibition you may read in the copy proved upon oath. And now when his Majesty sent down a Commission to inquire after these things, and sent withal a writ to the Bishop of Durham to command the sheriff of Durham to summon a jury at such time and place as his Majesty's Commissioners should approve, the Bishop showed contempt of his Majesty's authority, refused to return a jury, and quarrelled with some of the Commissioners for appearing on the King's behalf before him."

How the matter ended is not apparent; the Dutch war, the Plague and the Fire of London may have diverted the royal resentment; there is, at any rate, no evidence of Cosin having suffered any penalties for this high-handed action, worthy of his pugnacious predecessor, Antony Bek.

For a man sixty-six years of age, who had passed through many vicissitudes and did not enjoy the best of health, Cosin threw himself with amazing vigour into the varied and exacting duties of his high office. His first care was, necessarily, an attempt to make his episcopal

residences as habitable as the immediate resources of his purse would permit; but of his work of reparation it will be more convenient to speak later. The state of the diocese was simply deplorable. Cosin's biographer, Archdeacon Basire,[1] gives an appalling picture of the condition both of buildings and persons—leaking roofs, chancels without windows, altars without coverings, even churches without fonts, altars, Bibles or Prayer Books, and parishes without ministers, unruly congregations, the clergy neglecting their duties and ordering their services with gross irreverence and with no regard to the directions of the Book of Common Prayer; whilst the Papists, especially in the northern part of the diocese, were showing great activity, and holding public services in open defiance of the law.

In a letter to Sancroft, dated September 17th, 1661, Cosin says:

"I am so full here of the Bishopric affairs that I have not the leisure for anything else. Upon Sunday last I had a solemn Confirmation, with a sermon to that end before it; and yesterday I had another; for the company was too great to go through with them all in one day, yet I admitted none but those who were duly examined, and brought testimonials besides, subscribed by their own ministers. Busy I am about the reparation of my ruined houses, the very covering whereof with lead and slate (not yet half done) hath cost me more than £500. . . . The next Sunday I am here to attend an

[1] Darnell's *Correspondence of Basire*, p. 281, κ.τ.λ.

Ordination, and the two first Tuesdays after Michaelmas an ordinary Synod of the Clergy, one at Durham and another at Newcastle; where I shall preach among them, and put them in some order, if by any fair means I can. My temporal Chancellor is here with me at his sitting in the Chancery Court, and it is a great expense to me, without any profit, as the Judges late being here was, which cost me £150, besides £50 more which they demand for their salary."

In yet another letter, written soon afterwards to the same correspondent, he says:

"I was (when I received your last letter) going to Newcastle, where I stayed from Saturday to Thursday, preached there and communicated with many persons upon Sunday; I think the number of people at the Sermon was no less than three or four thousand. On Tuesday I kept the Synod of the Clergy, and made them my assessors in it, treating them so that I hope (and they assured me all as much) they are well pleased with their Bishop, even Mr. Durant himself, whom only I entreated and ordered to forbear preaching till he made it appear that he was an ecclesiastical person, as he is not, having neither episcopal nor presbyterial ordination."

The expression "assessors" applied here to the clergy and the reference to Mr. Durant suggest that Cosin made this Synod a kind of informal trial such as was fairly common in the Middle Ages, but was rare in the seventeenth century and has not since been revived in that

actual form, the famous synod held by Bishop Phillpotts of Exeter, in 1851, after the Gorham Judgment, being more of the nature of a formal protest against false doctrine.

Next year, after a lengthy visit to the capital (there was no "running up to town" in those days), to steer the revised Prayer Book through Convocation and Parliament, Cosin held his primary Visitation of both diocese and cathedral. The Articles of Visitation exhibited to the churchwardens and sidesmen of the diocese on this occasion are of special importance, as being almost certainly those which Cosin proposed in Convocation for general adoption. Besides the inevitable questions, those of more special interest may be grouped under four heads. There are, in the first place, those which illustrate Cosin's own predilections. Thus, he is anxious to know if there is "a partition between the Church and the Chancel"[1]; if there is "a desk whereat to say the Litany in the midst of the Church," according "to the Injunctions set forth in the time of Queen Elizabeth"[2]; if the Rogation Days are observed by the saying of the Litany, with Pss. ciii., civ., and a perambulation of the parish, ending with a sermon in church[3]; if the prescribed Bidding Prayer is offered before sermons;[4] if the clergy wear

[1] See pp. 27, 88, 209, 283.

[2] See pp. 213, 283.

[3] See pp. 29, 222.

[4] Basire reports that Cosin showed special zeal in regard to the Bidding Prayer, the canonical habit, and the recitation of the Daily Offices. There is no specific question on the last point, but see p. 201, above.

the apparel enjoined by the Canons[1] and wear their hair "of a moderate and comely length."[2]

We find, further, questions dealing with points on which the Puritans were recalcitrant. He inquires after the position of the Holy Table "at the upper part" of the chancel, the use of the surplice (he prudently did not insist on his own interpretation of the Ornaments Rubric), the episcopal ordination of the minister, the unexpurgated reading of the Thirty-nine Articles after induction, the use of the Book of Common Prayer "without omission, addition, or alteration," the bidding and observance of holidays and fasting-days, the licensing of lecturers (who had, in the past, been the free-lances of Puritanism), attendance at sermons while neglecting common prayer, kneeling at the reception of the Blessed Sacrament (the crucial point at the Savoy Conference), the "decent" veiling of women at their churching (a regulation to which the Puritan women seemed to have felt a marked repugnance), and such acts of outward reverence as uncovering the head on entering church, kneeling at the prayers, standing at the

[1] Canon 74. "All ecclesiastical persons shall usually wear in their journeys, cloaks with sleeves, commonly called Priests' Cloaks, without guards, welts, long buttons, or cuts. And no ecclesiastical person shall wear any coif or wrought night-cap, but only plain night-caps of black silk, satin, or velvet. . . . In private houses and in their studies, the said persons ecclesiastical may use any comely and scholarlike apparel, provided that it be not cut or pinkt; and that in public they go not in their doublet and hose, without coats or cassocks; and that they wear not any light-coloured stockings. . . ."

[2] See p. 84n., above.

Creed and Gospel, and bowing at the name of Jesus.[1]

Other questions refer to the sacrilege and profanities which had marred the "Commonwealth" days. Cosin wants to know if any bells or lead of the roofs have been embezzled, if any fonts, screens, Holy Tables, or Communion-vessels have been purloined or destroyed, if churchyards have been encroached upon, if worshippers "sit, lean, or lay their hats upon the Communion Table," "if minstrels, morris-dancers, dogs, hawks, or hounds" are permitted to enter the church.

And, finally, there are a number of miscellaneous inquiries illustrating aspects of Church discipline which are now wholly matters of the past.

"Doth your minister endeavour to reclaim all popish recusants, and other sectaries, to the unity, obedience, and true religion of the Church of England?" "Hath he admitted any women to her thanksgiving after child-birth, before she hath done her penance, if her child was born or begotten out of lawful matrimony?" "Is there any one in your parish who, having been heretofore ordained a deacon or minister, hath relinquished the exercise of his Holy Orders and now, in the course of his life, beareth himself as one of the Laity?" "Is there in your parish any person, who is commonly known or reputed to be an heretic or schismatic? any papist,

[1] Cf. Pepys's *Diary*, November 17th, 1661. "To church; and heard a simple fellow, upon the praise of Church music, and exclaiming against men's wearing their hats on in the church."

presbyterian, familist, anabaptist, independent, quaker, or other sectary, that refuses to come unto the public assemblies, prayers or services of the church, or that makes profession of any other religion than what is established in the Church of England ? and, if there be any such, what are their names ? "

Adultery, drunkenness, divorce, and the desecration of Sundays and holidays are duly investigated ; and, in the case of any neglect of public worship, the churchwardens are reminded of their duty to levy a fine of " twelve pence for every such day of their absence." The following questions, too, would excite considerable comment if addressed to churchwardens at a modern Visitation :

" Have you any among you that be denounced or declared excommunicate . . . and do any others of your parish keep society with them before they be reconciled to God and the Church ? " " Are there any . . . who refuse to pay their duty for Easter offerings to your minister ? " " Doth any man in your parish practise physic or chirurgery, or any woman the office of a midwife, without approbation and lawful licence of the ordinary ? Doth any man keep a public or private school in your parish, but such as be allowed thereunto by the Bishop or his Chancellor ? "

And the whole series of inquiries ends with a warning which would have little terror for a twentieth-century churchwarden :

" Know you assuredly that . . . if you wil-

fully refuse to present such crimes and faults as either you know to have been committed, or otherwise have heard of them by public fame,—that, in such cases, the Bishop and his officers are to proceed against you in their ecclesiastical courts, as in cases of wilful omission and perjury."

This Visitation was something more than a perfunctory issue of questions and pigeon-holing of replies; we learn from the public print *Mercurius Publicus* (August 2nd, 1662) that Cosin "visited the diocese in his own person, both the Churchmen and their churches . . . the zeal of God's house and the Church of England doth even (too truly) consume the good old man"; and it is clear, from Archdeacon Basire's note-books, that he left detailed orders for the correction of abuses and irregularities in the several parishes. Throughout his episcopate he was scrupulously regular in holding a triennial Visitation both of the diocese and of the Cathedral. The latter was a special difficulty to him; and it is evident that the Chapter regarded him as a difficulty, too. His peculiar interest in the reputation of a foundation to which he had himself belonged, and his minute knowledge of the statutes which should govern their services, made him, perhaps, too exacting in his demands; and even the faithful Basire, at a later Visitation, seems to have felt that the Bishop was being unreasonable in his pressure. But the need of energetic action was urgent; for, not only were the houses of the Chapter in a very bad state of repair, but the fabric of the

Cathedral was in an exceptionally ruinous condition: apart from the ordinary sacrilegious attacks of triumphant Puritanism, the Scottish prisoners taken at the Battle of Dunbar had been quartered by Cromwell in the Cathedral, and, to keep themselves warm, had hacked down, and used as fuel, such woodwork as was within reach.

The Chapter seems to have felt, not only that the Bishop was expecting impossibilities, but also that he was pressing his visitorial claims too far. But Cosin was determined not to countenance such men as Thomas Wood, who, despite the laxness that made him notorious both as Prebendary of Durham and as Dean of Lichfield, secured a bishopric in 1671 as a reward for marrying his wealthy niece to a royal bastard, but was subsequently suspended from his episcopal functions; and the relations between Bishop and Chapter from 1665 to Cosin's death were, at times, somewhat strained.

Cosin was unfortunate in the limited opportunities he had of exercising his Cathedral patronage; but such opportunities as he had were used to good advantage. On vacating his various preferments when appointed bishop, he persuaded the King to appoint both to his prebendal stall and to the rectory of Brancepeth, Daniel Brevint, who had been presented by Cosin for ordination in the Embassy Chapel at Paris, and later published *The Christian Sacrament and Sacrifice*—an admirable Eucharistic manual which had a great influence amongst the early Methodists. The future Primate and

Nonjuror, William Sancroft, he appointed Rector of Houghton-le-Spring, and arranged that he should exchange a stall at Westminster for one at Durham.

In the case of Denis Granville it is not easy to clear Cosin of the charge of nepotism: the Archdeaconry of Durham, the prebendal stall, and the two livings bestowed on Granville were by way of a dowry for Anne Cosin, the Bishop's half-witted daughter.[1] The bridegroom was only twenty-five years of age, and his extravagant habits and volatile nature sadly marred his pious instincts and zealous Churchmanship; but he seems to have been a gifted preacher, and his persevering advocacy of frequent celebrations as well as his heroic record as a Nonjuror will acquit Cosin of an entire lack of judgment in preferring him.

The fourth appointment to the Chapter, either made or contrived by Cosin, was that of John Durel, who, like Brevint, had been ordained at Paris in 1650; he earned some fame as the translator of the Prayer Book into French for the use of the Channel Islanders, and seems to have won the special confidence of Cosin, to whom he ministered on his deathbed and for whom he acted as executor.

One more name should be mentioned in this connection—that of George Davenport, who succeeded Sancroft as Cosin's domestic chaplain and as Rector of Houghton-le-Spring; but, with a self-effacement exceedingly rare in those days, he declined the Bishop's proposal to secure him

[1] See p. 318, below.

a stall about to be vacated by a royal preferment. He served most faithfully, however, as Keeper of the Cosin Library, and it sheds lustre on Cosin's memory that he should have attached to himself so wholly admirable a man.[1]

The Articles of Inquiry exhibited to the Cathedral officials in Cosin's first Visitation are very minute and present many points of interest.[2] With regard to the Dean and Prebendaries, the Bishop is especially concerned about their attendance at the Daily Offices, and about the repair of their houses as well as of the House of God. Very characteristically he asks:

"Are you about to renew the Organ, and where do you intend to place it? Is the Communion-table or Altar recovered out of their hands that took it away? And is it now ready to be set up where it was before? What is become of the wood and lead of the two great broaches [spires] that stood upon the square towers at the west end of the Church? How have the same been disposed and employed, and what account hath been made thereof to the Dean and Chapter? And if no account be yet given, have you sought after it, and legally demanded it of those persons that pulled down one of those broaches, and sold away the lead and wood of them both? By what other persons hath any parts of the Church fabric, Altar, Font, Organ, Pulpit, doors, partitions, or stalls and seats in

[1] Bishop Lightfoot, in his *Leaders of the Northern Church*, speaks of him as "a man of high spiritual aims and generous impulses, notable in many ways."

[2] They are printed in the thirty-seventh volume of the publications of the Surtees Society, pp. 252 ff.

the Quire, been destroyed? Search out and name them, if by any means you may, to the end that if those impious persons and authors and abettors and instruments of these destructions may be found out, and live in this Kingdom, the law may compel them to make restitution; or if not, that the names of such persons and their sacrilegious violence may be recorded among you to all posterity."

The Bishop reminds the Dean and Chapter that it is their duty, when not in actual residence, "to preach in some Churches abroad in this diocese, specially where sermons are most wanting, and able preachers, for lack of due provision and maintenance, cannot be had." He is interested, too, in the table which they keep:

"Do they [when in residence] use to augment their table at home, inviting thereunto not only all the members of this Church, but likewise their poor neighbours, citizens and strangers abroad? At these invitations do they observe convenient order and frugality, not exceeding the number of six guests (unless it be upon extraordinary occasion) at a time? And do they observe the religious custom of having some part of the Holy Scripture read at their table? And, as fasting days and fish days appointed by law occur in their residence, do they observe them also, as by the Constitutions of the Church and the Statutes of this Realm they are bound to do?"

With regard to the Minor Canons and Singing-men, the Bishop seeks information as to their Churchmanship, their skill in reading and singing,

and their outward behaviour in church. The Precentor is cross-examined concerning the careful selection of hymns and services, the preservation and binding of the choir-books, and the registering of the attendances of the members of the foundation. The Sacrist, in addition to questions about the utensils, etc., is asked about the condition of the books in the library, about the existence of a catalogue, and about "books that have been in the late wicked and distempered times embezzled and taken away." The episcopal investigation extends even to the cleanliness of the Organist's and Choristers' surplices, and to the daily worship and reverence of "the eight poor Almsmen."

From a paper drawn up by Granville,[1] early in 1665 it is clear that, in spite of Cosin's efforts, there was then much slovenliness, irreverence, and slackness in the conduct of the Cathedral services; and the Bishop found it necessary to pursue his inquiries along much the same lines in his second Visitation. There is extant a long paper, full of pungent comments, in which he reviews the answers to this second series of Visitation Articles:

"Seven Petty-Canons' places confest to be void (besides one lay singing-man's place) for the supply whereof the Bishop hath expected these five years together, and yet nothing done, which is contrary to their statutes and their oaths. They say there hath been no want of

[1] *Miscellanea*, Surtees Society, pp. 143 f., cf. pp. 262 ff.

due care to supply them; but they say not what care that hath been, nor by whom taken, nor what offers there hath been made to invite Petty-canons to them from other places, as their predecessors were wont to do heretofore. . . . They say afterwards that their Quire is very well provided and sufficient for the service of the Church (without any supply of the vacant places), as they conceive, which is to set up their own conceits against their oaths and the very letter of their statutes. All other Cathedral and Collegiate Churches of England have by their care got the full number of their Quire and taken order sufficiently to maintain them; only the Church of Durham is defective therein, which cannot be well taken or suffered either by the Bishop at home, or by others abroad, or by his sacred Majesty when he shall know of it. Their answer concerning sackbuts and cornets is extrinsical to the inquiry, though the Bishop likes them well enough, having been established in his time when he was Prebendary heretofore. . . . The service is not yet performed so often in the Quire as it was before. The song-books are torn and not renewed. The Lectern and Litany-desk[1] are mean and uncomely. The Altar is clothed with coarse country cloth. The Treasury and Registry are undigested into order. The inventory of goods belonging to the Church is not yet perfected. The floor of the Church is broken. The tombs of benefactors are left broken. The north door and the jambs of the windows without are plastered up with mortar. The Churchyard wall is not yet repaired, but left open to annoyance. The pinnacles as well at the east as west end of the Church, and on the north side thereof, are not repaired. . . ."

[1] See p. 283, below.

They claim—

"Freedom from paying the King any subsidy, or from repairing the Bishop's seat in his Consistory, as they have done his seat in the Quire. Other Cathedral Churches have provided Consistories at their own charges for the Bishop and his Chancellor. And to all those commendations of the Dean he himself subscribeth his own hand, which he should have left unto others only to do for him. His frequenting of Divine offices more than is enjoined, may be commendable, but is extrinsical to the inquiry, as likewise the answer is of his having never yet made use of any of that time of absence which is allowed him by the statute; which, nevertheless, can hardly be made good, if his absence during all the month of June last be counted. . . . Although they be guardians of the Church, yet they must give the Bishop leave to be their Overseer . . . and if he findeth anything defective to have it supplied and amended, for this belongeth to his jurisdiction over them, which he is bound to preserve and must give an account thereof to God and the King and to his own conscience. Against the sacrilegious persons, in all these five years they confess they have not made any proceedings to recover by law what was pulled down or taken from the Church, which nevertheless they might have done, as well as they did it against their tenants, and which they were enjoined to do at the Bishop's last Visitation. . . . The good carriage and temper of their Chapter is commendable; but the taxing of other places and saying that there are but few examples like to their own, is not so and is altogether extravagant and extrinsical to the Bishop's inquiry. Strange it

is that they can find no footsteps of any Acts of Visitation, which is a sign that they have not been well kept, and therefore they are bound to take more care of them hereafter. But when they say that they find no inquiry grounded upon Injunctions, it should seem they do not so much as keep the Articles of Visitation neither, wherein (not long since exhibited) before my time, they might have found this Article, viz., Num. 28, *in fine* :—'What Acts have been made by the Bishops of Durham, your Visitors, in their several Visitations, and how are they observed and kept from time to time?' They desire that no such Acts or Injunctions may be made without they first be asked and consulted about them, which was never yet demanded of any Bishop by their predecessors, or any others that use to be visited by him. . . .

"To the 36th and 37th Articles, they answer that there is no irregularity in habits; but they say nothing of coming to the Church in night-gowns and grey stockings, nor of wearing long rapiers, great skirted jumps, and short daggers. . . . They find none backward nor any too forward to confirm leases sent unto them for that purpose from the Bishop. And they plead for a freedom in their votes, and a care of that which they call their trust, though the Bishop offers them no lease or patent to be confirmed, which are either without precedent, or against law, or hurtful to the see and succession."

We reach here a ground of quarrel between the Bishop and the Chapter, which had to be settled by the King in Council. The King, presumably at the instance of Cosin, had asked the Chapter to grant certain leases to the Bishop

on account of his great expenses; but the Chapter had demurred on the ground that the episcopal receipts were greatly in excess of the episcopal expenses, as no doubt they were. On further pressure being put upon them, the Chapter granted all except one, and claimed that they had the approval of the Primate and the Lord Chancellor in their refusal to grant that.

In November 1666, Cosin placed his case fully before the King, complaining that the Chapter refused to confirm three concurrent leases made by him, and rather meanly suggesting that their opposition was due to his having insisted upon their paying subsidies to the King. The dispute dragged out for another year, until at last the Dean was summoned to London and asked by the King if it were against his conscience to confirm these leases, and on the Dean beginning his answer, "No, but——," his Majesty interrupted with these words, "If it is not against your conscience, I will have no 'buts'; so go home and confirm it." It is impossible not to sympathise with the Dean and Chapter: concurrent leases were obviously unfair to the original lessees, and in this particular case they were granted to the Bishop's son-in-law, Sir Gilbert Gerard.[1]

After his third Visitation of the Cathedral, held in 1668, we find Cosin still calling upon the Chapter to complete the repairs needed both within and without the Cathedral, and to fill up the vacant Minor Canonries, although Basire had reported that he had made inquiries "at London,

[1] *State Papers*, Domestic, June 1666—October 1667.

Southwell and elsewhere, and invited divers, but could not prevail." Cosin also insisted peremptorily on the carrying out of the Injunctions issued after his first Visitation; but when, in 1671, the Chancellor visited the Cathedral under a commission from the Bishop, it was evident that Cosin's efforts had not been crowned with complete success. Basire reported, amongst other delinquencies, that nothing had been done about the Consistory seats on which the Bishop felt so strongly, and that—

"the usual non-residence of half the body contrary to our statutes is still a *malum omen* of the decay, if not ruin, of this famous church, partly through the abuse by surreption, of the Royal Dispensations, partly through the usurpation of self-dispensations, so frequent that 't is impossible for those few that reside to keep a Chapter *singulis quindenis*, and the burden is too heavy for three or four to bear all the year long, against the rule of equity, good conscience, and to the great distraction and discouragement of those who do attend that service: besides that the Cathedral sermons are frequently supplied by Curates and others, contrary to Canon 43 and 51, and to the Lord Bishop's former Injunctions."

In addition to his formal Visitations, Cosin set himself to pay visits of that fatherly, intimate nature, so disrelished by indolent parish priests but so welcome to the earnest—visits which probably do more for the advancement of religion than any other episcopal efforts. We catch a glimpse of him, making a—

" progress through the larger part of this county Palatine, preaching on every Sunday in several Churches, and being received with great joy and alacrity, both of the gentry and all the people. . . . The Sunday after his return to Auckland he went abroad to Evening Prayer in a country church three miles off, and there both catechised the youth of the Parish himself, and enjoined the minister of the place, where catechising had been formerly omitted, diligently to perform that religious duty hereafter. A few days following he went to the chief parish church of Auckland, and there took order, having prepared for it before, that three children past their infancy, and two of them well grown in years, should be solemnly baptized with the consent of their parents, who had formerly neglected it, and been misled from the Church, but are now by the Bishop firmly converted to it." [1]

We seem to find conflicting evidence as to Cosin's attitude towards Nonconformists. Baxter himself bore witness to his conciliatory behaviour at the Savoy Conference; but in the subsequent Convocation his influence was exercised entirely in the direction of making the Prayer Book less palatable to Nonconformists. In earlier days he had shown no patience with Nonconformity, and, in a conversation with Archbishop Bramhall (then Bishop of Derry), he had been " for a stiff rein and a severe discipline, to hold them with bit and bridle, lest they fall upon us." But his experiences since then, especially his intercourse with the Hugue-

[1] *Mercurius Publicus.*

nots of Paris, may well have convinced him of the wisdom of Bramhall's plea "for some allay and a more gentle moderamen . . . since the Constitution of the Church of England is eminently sweet and merciful . . . having neither the fierceness of the Roman tyranny, nor the licentiousness of some democratical and popular Reformations." [1]

Dr. Stoughton, the Nonconformist historian, attributes Cosin's apparent vacillations to "a fluctuation of feeling common in impulsive natures" [2]; but impulsiveness in matters of principle is the last characteristic which his friends would have applied to Cosin, and even a cursory study of his actions and writings must convince us that Sancroft and others were right in emphasising his stability of conviction; he was impatient and unguarded in speech, but not impulsive in policy. The truth seems rather to be that the orderliness of his mind and a high sense of duty clashed with a certain breadth of view and kindliness of disposition. As Bishop, he insisted on conformity to the Book of Common Prayer and on episcopal ordination; but yet he was genuinely anxious to win over Nonconformists, and he spared no effort to that end. The case of Mr. Durant has already been noted, and Calamy, in his *Abridgement* and *Account of Rejected Ministers*, reports two similar cases. Of Richard Franklin (of Bishop Auckland) he says, "Bishop Cosin solicited him to

[1] *Life*, prefixed to Bramhall's *Works*, ed. Vesey (Dublin, 1677).

[2] *Church of the Restoration*, i. 480.

conform, promising him not only his living, but greater preferment on his compliance "[1]; and of John Lomax (of Wooler) he says:

"It was observed that the learned Bishop seemed to be more earnest and solicitous to get him to comply with the ecclesiastical settlement, and come into the Church, than any other preacher in the county; and, though he did not succeed, he often spake of him with great respect."[2]

These were cases in which Cosin failed to secure conformity; but we gather from *Mercurius Publicus* that his successes in this direction outnumbered his failures, "many and indeed most of the Presbyterian persuasion striking sail to the force of his reasons and example." At Cosin's death, Basire felt justified in saying:

"I, who have lived in this diocese of Durham forty years, never saw it more regular, since the sad twenty years of schism and war, and so of confusion, whereby his successor, whoever he may be, may enjoy the comfort of a regular diocese."

Similar evidence was given by Sir William Dugdale, from his observations when travelling about the diocese, in 1666, in his official capacity as Norroy King-of-Arms[3]; while Granville,

[1] Cosin even went so far as to offer him a conditional ordination in private.

[2] Brand's *History of Newcastle* tells of others whom Cosin was reluctantly obliged to suspend.

[3] *Miscellanea*, Surtees Society, p. 167.

when Dean of Durham, declared that the Bishopric of Durham was "without dispute the most exemplary country for good order and conformity of any in the Kingdom," and he quoted Archbishop Burnet of St. Andrews as uttering "commendations of the good order and conformity of our diocese, saying that Bishop Cosins was a great man and an excellent governor." [1]

But Nonconformity was a civil danger as well as an ecclesiastical offence, and Cosin, as Lord Lieutenant, was responsible for the maintenance of public order. Early in his episcopate there was much excitement over the "Darwentdale Plot" and its ramifications. An ex-Baptist named Elrington, in the hope apparently of improving his own prospects, accused well-known Presbyterians and sectaries of planning a rebellion, in which the "design was to destroy the Church and all powers." Much to his disgust, the Bishop gave little credence to his tale, even though the information was backed by a letter addressed by Sir Thomas Gower to Cosin, in which he was assured that "the dissatisfied intend to seize his lordship with his money." Elrington persisted for months in adding details to his story; but it is evident that, although he put the full machinery of his secular office into motion and speaks of it as a "horrid design," Cosin was by no means convinced of the reality of the danger; and there were not wanting some who blamed him for his remissness in prosecuting the accused.

[1] *Miscellanea*, Surtees Society, pp. 169 f.

Surtees, the great historian of Durham, after a careful examination of the depositions, decided that Elrington was "an infamous scoundrel," and that the royalists of the north had shown a somewhat fatuous alarm about a plot which had little or no substance.[1] This, probably, was Cosin's private opinion; but, to prove his zeal, he threw himself into the proposal that lists of the disaffected and of the loyal should be made, and we find him asking Archdeacon Basire to make inquiries as to those "that have served as soldiers and officers against the King under the command of the late Parliament, or Oliver and his son."

From time to time there were other disquieting rumours, such as those connected with the Fire of London, when Cosin issued prompt warnings of a possible rising to his deputy-lieutenants, who in their turn instructed their officers "to double their guard, and to keep their patrols constant in the night, that we might not be surprised nor taken unprovided." About the same time there were "fearful doings at Hartlepool," which proved to be the passing appearance of a solitary Dutch man-of-war. And—to note one further matter in which Cosin felt called upon to take action as Lord-Lieutenant—a seditious conventicle was held in Newcastle, at which five hundred "Saints"

[1] Surtees, *Hist. Durham*, ii. 390. Cf. *State Papers*, 1662–4, *passim*. But the writer of *Durham* in the Victoria County History thinks that too little has been made of this affair, and that there was "a widespread and determined effort to crush the religious settlement and to overthrow the restored dynasty."

sang the following metrical version of Ps. cxlix.:

> "To bind their stately kings in chains,
> Their lords in iron bands,
> To execute on them the doom
> That written is before,
> This honour all His Saints shall have,
> Praise ye the Lord therefore." [1]

The Mayor of Newcastle having shown no zeal in suppressing such assemblies, Cosin reported the matter to the King in Council, who sent peremptory orders to his worship "to execute the severity of the laws." But, as it was not expected that the first Conventicle Act would be renewed, and as the mayor's wife herself frequented these assemblies, no vigorous action was taken; and the last we hear of the northern conventicles is that Basire reports to the Bishop that the ringleader, Richard Gilpin, by flitting between Newcastle and Carlisle, was successfully avoiding the jurisdiction of both places; and the Bishop writes to Mr. Mayor:

"Public peace being the life of the kingdom, and execution the life of the laws, it hath been my endeavour to procure and observe both, as in my Diocese in general, so in your Corporation in particular . . . witness my frequent letters to you in order to those good ends. . . . I would fain vindicate the town of Newcastle from the foul imputation of being the nursery of faction in these northern parts, which, as things now stand, I cannot do; but rather must, and, according to my duty, will report the contrary

[1] *State Papers*, Domestic, 1668, November 23rd.

to the King and his Council, and then any one may easily foresee the evil consequences. . . . Meanwhile, in hope that you will make good use of this, my last warning, tendered unto you out of my tender care for the welfare of your town, I commend you all to the grace of God."

The work that probably took up most of Cosin's time and interest—he calls it his "continual care for seven years"—was the reparation of the see-houses. Durham House, London, occupying a splendid site between the Strand and the river, since known as the Adelphi, had been put to good use by Bishop Neile [1]; but it had been alienated by Bishop Morton, who had regarded it as a needless expense. The following letter, addressed by Cosin to Archbishop Sheldon in 1666, explains the circumstances of this alienation, and illustrates Cosin's anxiety to regain it for his own use as a London residence:

"I hear there are endeavours using to prevail with the King, your Grace, and my Lord Chancellor, to interpose in an affair between my Lord the Earl of Pembroke and myself, and therefore think it fitting (to prevent all misapprehensions which may arise through wrong representations, where one party only is heard) to give you a short account of the whole business. In the year 1640 my Lord Pembroke's father, being then Lord Chamberlain, did, under pretence of the want of a fit house near the Court, persuade my predecessor Bishop Morton, a timorous person, to give his consent to the

[1] See p. 13, above.

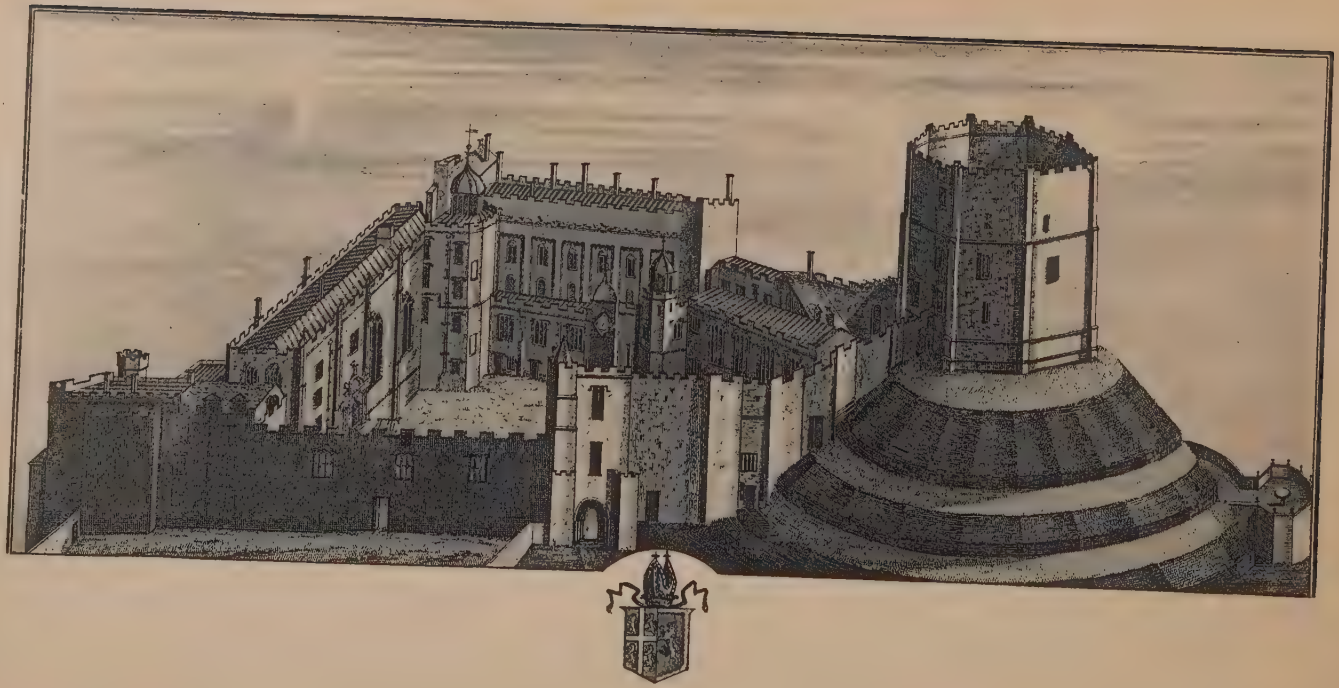
bringing a Bill into the Parliament for the alienating Durham House in the Strand for ever from the See, and settling of it on the Earl of Pembroke and heirs under the fee farm rent of £200 per annum,[1] alleging that the house was rather a charge to the Bishops of Durham than a benefit, and that the reserved rent would be a great advantage: whereas, in truth, it was the quite contrary, my predecessors having, besides the accommodation of a house and stable for themselves and their families when they were called up to give their attendance at the Court of Parliament, used to make a considerable profit in letting part of the house in lease. This bill being brought in found so great opposition in the Parliament (notwithstanding the prevalency of the faction at that time in both Houses against the Church) that it could not pass till a proviso was inserted that if the said yearly rent of £200, or any part thereof, should happen to be behind and unpaid by the space of six months after any of the terms at which it ought to be paid, that then and from thenceforth the said house should revert unto the Bishops of Durham, as if that Act had never been made: which clause I am persuaded was on purpose inserted by the lovers of the Church, in hopes that in better times the See might recover its just rights, which at that time, the factions growing high, they could not preserve. At the happy restoration of his Majesty my Lord Pembroke refused to pay the rent reserved by Act of Parliament till I was forced to bring declarations of ejectment against him. . . . I was persuaded to decline the forfeiture and accept of the rent

[1] The site of the stables was, also by Act of Parliament (1606), let to the Earl of Salisbury, who had built upon it the "New Exchange."

reserved, upon condition that for the future the rent should be punctually paid unto me, without any deduction for public taxes and assessments; and on this manner the business stood till Michaelmas last . . . and then instead of receiving the rent, or having civil entreaties of forbearance, those that called for it could get nothing but downright denials. . . . These denials continuing for six months after Michaelmas, I gave order to my Attorney to make a legal demand of the rent and the *nomine pœnæ's*, and proceed to declarations of ejectment, according to the advantage the Act of Parliament gave me, judging I could do no less without prejudicing both myself and my successors, but my successors much more than myself, my advantage in likelihood being to be but small and of short continuance. And having now proceeded thus far upon these just and equitable grounds, I am told that my Lord the Earl of Pembroke is using endeavours to your Grace to procure me to desert my advantage, or to get the King to lay his commands upon me to do it. . . . And as I can, neither ought, to do anything in prejudice of my See and successors, so I hope neither the King, your Grace, nor my Lord Chancellor will require nor desire it of me; for there are many reasons why I and my successors should have the benefit of this forfeiture, but not any that I can comprehend why it should be pardoned to him."

However, Cosin was persuaded, or, more probably, forced to forego his rights in this matter, and in his last years rented a house in Pall Mall.[1]

[1] Durham House gradually fell into ruins and by the end of the eighteenth century had disappeared.



"South view of Durham Castle being the Bishop's Palace."

(From S. & N. Buck's engraving, 1728).

acing page 270]

When he came northwards after his consecration, he found that all his residences had suffered terribly during the late disturbances. Stockton Castle had been entirely dismantled, and Cosin made no attempt to rebuild it. The house at Darlington he restored to some extent; but subsequent bishops, regarding it as a superfluity, allowed it to fall into disrepair. To Durham Castle he devoted much thought and money: it had been "spoilt and ruined with gunpowder" by the Scots, and had since been sold by Parliament to Thomas Andrews, Lord Mayor of London, who certainly had done nothing to improve its condition. Cosin now put it into complete repair; he also added externally a porch, and erected internally a grand staircase; at the same time the great hall was decorated, wainscoted, and provided with a collection of episcopal portraits; so that he may fairly be ranked with the Conqueror, Pudsey, and Hatfield as a co-builder of this noble fortress, now the home of University College.[1]

The only residence still attached to the see of Durham is Auckland Castle: to the restoration of this Cosin also devoted much time and expense; but he marred the greatness of his work here and did poor service to his memory by a curiously disingenuous boastfulness, es-

[1] Cromwell had founded a college at Durham out of the Chapter's estate. The scheme, of course, fell through at the Restoration, and was not revived till Bishop Van Mildert, the last Prince Palatine (1826–36), founded the University of Durham and surrendered the castle to the new foundation.

pecially in connection with the chapel, which he claimed to have "erected from the ground." Both Dr. Raine (in his *Historical Account of Auckland Castle*) and Bishop Lightfoot (in his *Historical Essays*, 1896) prove this statement to have been a gross exaggeration. The former chapel had, indeed, been razed to the ground by Sir Arthur Hazlerigg, the commander of the Parliamentary forces in the north of England, who had bought the estate; but Cosin simply adapted the ancient hall, originally built in the thirteenth century, and, as Dr. Raine seems to prove, deliberately tried to deceive posterity by working up old fittings to look like new work. The same authority decides that Cosin "rebuilt the south wall, added a clerestory to the middle aisle, put in new windows throughout, raised the sills of the north windows to suit the level of his new windows on the south, repaired and ornamented the eastern gable, repaired the nave, aisles, and altar-platform, and put in new screens and general wood-work." [1]

As regards the rest of the castle, too, Cosin stands convicted of exaggeration: he claims to have "rebuilt the Castle of Auckland which was pulled down and ruined by Sir Arthur Haselrig"; but Bishop Lightfoot was convinced that—

"this language is quite inconsistent with the evidence. All the chief members of the existing fabric (with the exception of the south wing,

[1] This, like all Cosin's woodwork, was magnificent, the central ceiling being, perhaps, unique.

built by Bishop Trevor) date from times prior to the Commonwealth. . . . Cosin did much repairing and remodelling, but little or nothing that can strictly be called rebuilding."

With the stones of the original chapel and other materials Hazlerigg had begun to build a new residence, and this at first Cosin intended to complete, as is clear from an agreement drawn up in January 1663–4. But very soon afterwards either it occurred to him, or it was represented to him, that it would be a sacrilegious proceeding to dwell in a house made of consecrated materials; accordingly on March 3rd, 1663–4, a fresh agreement was drawn up, by which Hazlerigg's building was to come down completely; this seems to have involved the rebuilding of the external walls. Cosin also built a gateway and porter's lodge, and replanted the park, in which Hazlerigg (if we may believe Cosin) had " left neither a tree or pollard standing," and restocked it with deer.

The culmination of Cosin's work as a restorer was marked by the consecration of Auckland Chapel [1] on St. Peter's Day, 1665, that day having been chosen apparently because the chapel was to be dedicated in the name of St. Peter, the patron saint of the College of which Cosin had been Master and also of the Cathedral

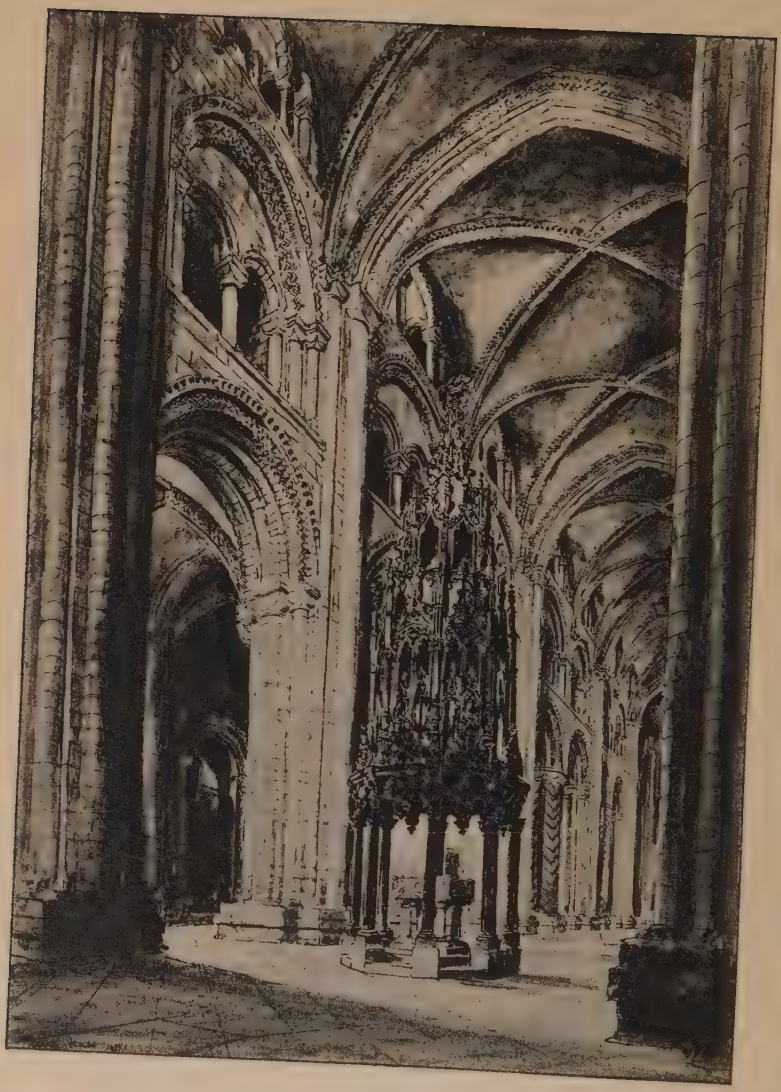
[1] The order of the service has been preserved among the Lambeth MSS. and has been printed in Wickham Legg's *English Orders for Consecrating Churches* (Henry Bradshaw Society), pp. 224 ff. It is distinguished by the number of anthems sung by the choir and solos played by the organist.

of which he had been Dean. His chaplain, Davenport, tells Sancroft that—

"the Dean and Prebendaries and many clergymen, but abundance of gentlemen and gentlewomen were present, and had a great feast made to them. My meanness (as Rabbi Wheelock said) preached on, 'He is worthy for whom He should do this, for he loveth our nation and he hath built us a synagogue. Then Jesus went with them.' In the end of the sermon I moved all the clergy and laity to be persuaded by the sight of the beauty of this chapel, to repair and beautify their own Churches and Chancels."

What, one wonders, must have been the thoughts of Cosin and his chaplain if, in Paradise, they were permitted to know of the reopening of that chapel after restoration on August 1st, 1888, when fifty-seven bishops of the Anglican Communion beyond the seas were present at the dedication service? This chapel Cosin most sumptuously appointed with furniture, vessels, books, and pictures, including, characteristically, a pulpit and reading-desk of precisely the same dimensions; whilst his household-book proves him to have arranged that the services held in it should be fully choral, as we should expect of such a lover of Church music.[1]

[1] It had been Cosin's desire that his should be the first body to be buried in Auckland Chapel, and it was a grievous disappointment to him to hear that, during his absence in London, Samuel Davison, the husband of his second daughter, had been buried there. He writes to his secretary that it was "a sudden and a rash act to suffer any one to be buried



Durham Cathedral Nave,
shewing Cosin's Font-Cover (Font modern).

(From a drawing by Hanslip Fletcher published by
H. W. Benyon of Cheltenham).

But Cosin was not content merely to restore his own houses and chapels, he helped most generously in the restoration of the Cathedral, and, amongst other gifts, presented the noble choir-stalls still *in situ* (though much mutilated), a chancel-screen which was removed in 1846 to open a vista of the Neville altar-screen (the arrangement, however, did not find favour, so that a modern screen has been erected), a marble font (now in Pittington church), with a towering canopy—a most interesting specimen of seventeenth-century woodwork, still to be seen in the Cathedral, a lectern, a litany-desk with his arms carved at the ends, and the Communion-vessels, including a very striking paten, which he describes himself as "a fair, large, scollopt paten, silver and gilt, with a foot and a cover of fair embossed work."

The words applied in St. Paul's Cathedral to Sir Christopher Wren—*Si monumentum requiris, circumspice*—might well be spoken of Cosin to any one standing in the middle of the Palace Green at Durham, surrounded, as he would be, by buildings which form a splendid memorial to the Bishop's zeal and munificence: the Cathedral on the south; the Castle on the north; on the east, "two ancient schools which had been founded by his memorable predecessor Bishop Langley in the time of King Henry V., but were lately ruined in the time of Cromwell's

there before myself; but since Mr. Davenport and my daughter, together with yourself, have thus clapt up the matter, which cannot be now undone again, I must be content to let it be as it is, and say *Requiescat in pace.*"

usurpation," rebuilt by him, "together with the new erecting and building of an Hospital there, for eight poor and aged people"[1]; and on the west the Cosin Library.

After the consecration of Auckland Chapel, the building and stocking of this public library was the main interest of Cosin's life. Just as, in pugnacity, he sometimes recalls Bek (Bishop, 1283–1310), and as a builder he rivals Pudsey (Bishop, 1153–95), so as a book-lover he recalls Richard de Bury (Bishop, 1334–45), the greatest collector of his day and the author of the *Philobiblon*. From the days when he had been sought as librarian by two of the greatest bishops of the time, Cosin seems to have been filled with a genuine love of books, a love which embraced both their internal contents and their external appearance. The cataloguing and preservation of the Cathedral library was his almost lifelong concern; he had interested himself in the housing of the books in the Peterhouse library, and had later presented a magnificent collection to that college; in the direst poverty abroad, he had clung to his books when tempted to sell them; and now, in his old age, he erected a building at the cost of £500, and, to quote his own words, "he hath furnished the same, for public use, with books of all sorts, to the value of £2,000, and he hath also, for the well keeping and preserving of that

[1] This building is now used by the University, new almshouses being provided elsewhere. Close by is a more modern building called Cosin Hall, and used as a residential hostel for undergraduates.

Library, given and settled an annual stipend of £20 sterling upon it."

The last few months (July, August, and September, 1669) spent by Cosin in his diocese seem to have been occupied very largely in arranging the volumes in the new library; and Davenport, who had been appointed the first Keeper of the Library, wrote in rather a desperate tone to Sancroft: "My Lord hath placed his books in the new Library which he hath built. But oh! what a life have I in shifting them hither and thither! and this life I reckon I must lead till Michaelmas." And when Cosin had travelled to London, there to spend the remainder of his days, the subject which recurs most frequently in his correspondence with his secretary is books: either he wants a volume from his own private collection at Auckland and directs his correspondent to the exact part of the exact shelf on which it will be found; or he inquires after the progress of the cataloguing of the public library. From time to time he expresses concern as to the roof being watertight, or the danger of fire, or the approach of winter, when "if the books be not all rubbed over before a fire once a fortnight, or month at least, they will contract moulding and be in danger to be spoiled." Some of his letters expound a plan for the addition of an extra room to the library—

"to keep all maps, books of geography, and all manner of MSS. there that we can buy or beg from any others in whose houses, if any such

be there, they are not likely to be so well preserved as they will be in this library; to which purpose I pray set Mr. Davenport of listening out and searching after them, you and he and all your acquaintances besides."

Another letter tells of an interview with a bookseller who has "returned out of France and Holland with a great many good books"; and the Bishop unblushingly adds: "I wish we could get money either by contributions or disposing of patents and offices to purchase them." The granting or renewal of a lease is always seized as an opportunity to extort a book or a money equivalent:

"The Lambs' lease at Quarrington may very well allow £10 for a book to the Library." "If you get a book to the Library over and above their offer of £70, you will do so much the better." "If the grant [of a guardianship] be worth anything, either take it yourself or get a book to the Library." "Mr. Baddeley for his Coronership of Stockton may give a book of £5 to the Library."

And the bibliophilic heart is simply wrung at the prospect of losing "a *Tractatus Tractatuum* in twenty-eight great volumes fairly bound," for which the bookseller demanded £60—

"which I am not able to give, having expended so much on my library already. If you can devise how to get so many contributors (such as have received kindnesses from me) that will agree together to buy it and pay the money within six months, or sooner, before I come from

London, you will do a good service to the public and furnish my Library with so many volumes of excellent tractates and books that are very rarely to be had."

Again and again the Bishop returns to this project; but, in spite of all his efforts, the secretary only raised £35, and the book was not secured. Almost to the very end, in spite of "sore fits of the strangurie," he seems to have worked with his chaplain and amanuensis, William Flower, at the cataloguing of his well-loved tomes.

In spite of his public munificence, his unstinted hospitality, and his sociable bearing, Cosin was not a popular Bishop. This unpopularity would not have been to his discredit if it had obtained only amongst the lazy or recalcitrant members of the clergy; but it was amongst the gentry that the feeling seems to have been strongest, and it was the consequence of his wrongheaded attitude towards their aspiration for Parliamentary representation. In the Middle Ages the bishopric had never been represented in the national councils, since the Bishop had always summoned his own councils. But under Cromwell's rule Durham had been treated like any other county, and the withdrawal of the privilege of sending representatives to Westminster was bitterly resented, the more so as the prestige of Parliament had considerably risen. The matter was brought up at the Quarter Sessions quite early in Cosin's episcopate; but he hoped to quell the movement by

a display of zeal in reclaiming for the county the sum of £25,000 which it had been forced to spend on the Scottish army in the "Bishops' War" of 1640. For a time no further steps were taken; but at the Quarter Sessions held at Durham in October 1666—

"the Grand Jury presented a petition on behalf of all the freeholders of the said county . . . which petition being read in open court, the Right Rev. John, Lord Bishop of Durham, did enter his protestation against the same, supported by the Dean and Chapter and five of the Justices then present, as against eleven Justices assenting to the petition."[1]

Cosin rested his opposition on the special privilege of the see, which he had taken a solemn oath to preserve and defend, and to the contrary of which the corporations of the county were all sworn to attempt nothing. He quoted the saying, *Breve Regis non currit in Comitatu Palatino Dunelmensi*; he denied that the county felt at all strongly about the matter; he expressed his abhorrence of any precedent set up by the usurper; and declared that, by looking to him as its sole representative in Parliament, the county was saved great expense.

Again and again the question was raised, and in March 1668 a Bill was introduced into Parliament "to enable the County of Durham to send two knights for the County and two

[1] *An Account of the Proceedings in Parliament between Dr. Cosins, the Bishop of Durham, and the Gentlemen Freeholders of the County Palatine*, etc. (Darlington, 1775. 4°).

citizens for the City of Durham." The strongest speech was that by Sir Thomas Strickland, who urged that "the county was never taxed in Parliament by ancient privilege before King James' time, and so needed no representatives; but now, being taxed, it is but reasonable they should have." The Bill, however, was rejected. But the matter was not allowed to drop, and the Bishop's correspondence is full of references which show how keenly he resented the agitation. He had his misguided way to the end; but the County won the coveted privilege two years after his death.

We can well believe the statement of Smith[1] that Cosin could always win the ear of the House of Lords in any debate which touched ecclesiastical questions. He had a well-stocked mind and a racy diction; and his readiness to take a line of his own, regardless of the views of his episcopal brethren, was likely to gladden the lay mind. On two important occasions he pushed himself into what seems a quite unnecessary prominence in matters in which the majority of the Bench felt very differently from himself.

In November 1667, the Commons attempted to impeach the Lord Chancellor, Clarendon, of high treason; but the Lords, very rightly, re-

[1] *Vita J. C.*, p. 23. "Ordinibus regni Regio jussu convocatis, in Superiori camera Parlamenti, cujus non modica pars fuit, si quippiam magni momenti quoquo modo ad Ecclesiam, resve Ecclesiasticas spectans, in disceptationem venisset, illo perorante, illustrissimi Proceres, avidis auribus oculisque intenti, ejus sententiae non sine quadam delectatione et reverentia auscultare visi sunt."

fused to convict him on a general charge without any specific treason being named. A mind so wedded to constitutionalism as that of Cosin must have felt the force of this position; and, in any case, we should have expected that he would gladly have availed himself of this opportunity of saving Clarendon from an undeserved fate. The Chancellor had, no doubt, mismanaged the Dutch war and had exposed himself to the charge of ostentatious extravagance in the building of his palace near St. James's; but it is impossible to believe that Cosin was conscientiously dissatisfied with his policy or that he regarded him as a danger to the State. And yet he signed the protest against the Lords' refusal which had been drawn up by the worthless Buckingham.

In Cosin's case this action seems peculiarly offensive; since no one could have known better than he how great was the debt of the Church of England to the Chancellor, who, moreover, was Cosin's personal friend and had tried to screen him from the Queen-mother's spite in the days when they had been fellow-exiles together. It is impossible to avoid the conclusion that Cosin was guided in this matter by expediency rather than conviction. He was influenced, presumably, by the King's personal wishes, which had been openly expressed. Pepys reported, on November 17th, that "the King is the most concerned in the world against the Chancellor and all people that do not appear against him, and, therefore, is angry with the bishops, having said that he had one bishop on

his side, Crofts, and but one."[1] Burnet, also, states that—

" the King was highly offended at the behaviour of most of the bishops, and he took occasion to vent it at the Council board. . . . Morley was long Dean of the Chapel [Royal], but he stuck so to the Lord Clarendon that he was sent into his diocese ; and Crofts, Bishop of Hereford, was made Dean in his room."

Cosin, no doubt, made sure of the King's continued support in his sordid quarrel with the Durham Chapter over concurrent leases, as already noticed.

The King's wishes may also have influenced Cosin in the other question on which he pained his friends by his unexpected divergence from accepted Church opinion. Lord Roos, the eldest son of the Earl of Rutland, had obtained in the spiritual court a sentence of divorce from his wife, whose adultery was clearly proved and even admitted by her father, the Marquis of Dorchester. In March 1669–70, a Bill was brought into the House of Lords to enable him to " re-marry." This created a great sensation, and Andrew Marvell[2] reported to his constituents at Hull that—

[1] This was before the protest was signed. It is a little surprising that Clarendon makes no reference to Cosin's ingratitude, though he wrote that Croft had " behaved himself with very singular ingratitude to him, and thereby got much credit in the Court."

[2] *Works*, ed. Grosart, ii. 316 f. An interesting account of

"the great Bill begun in the Lords makes more ado than ever any Act in this Parliament. . . . The King is for the Bill; the Duke of York and all the Papist Lords, and all the Bishops except Cosin, Reynolds and Wilkins, are against it. They sat all Thursday last, without once rising, till almost ten at night, in most solemn and memorable debate, whether it should be read the 2nd time or thrown out. At last, at the question, there were 42 persons and 6 proxies against it, and 41 persons and 15 proxies for it. . . . It was read the 2nd time yesterday, and on a long debate whether it should be committed, it went for the Bill by 12 odds, in persons and proxies."

Cosin's account of the proceedings is found in a letter to his secretary, in which he quite fails to conceal a tone of exultant self-satisfaction:

"It was half an hour past nine before I came from the House of Peers, where I had much to do and a long speech to make, which set them on work for nine hours after, and this day for three hours and a half more. But I thank God that I suffer in nothing that I said. The major part of the House being at both times of the same mind with me, and carrying the Bill we spoke to, till we got it committed, against the mind of all the Roman Catholic Lords and a strong party of the Bishops that joined with them."

Cosin spoke both on the first and on the

this debate has been printed, from the Sandwich MSS., in Harris's *Life of Edw. Mountagu, 1st Earl of Sandwich* (1912), vol. ii. App. H.

second reading, and also (with Bishop Wilkins of Chester) accepted a seat on the Committee which was appointed by the House to consider the Bill. In Committee he spoke at great length from voluminous notes, which were subsequently published (obviously with his approval), and have been reprinted in his *Works* (iv. 489). Curiously enough, if Smith was rightly informed, he absented himself from the House when the Bill was finally passed by a majority of two, and abstained from voting, either by person or by proxy, at any of the divisions—a singularly futile proceeding if his speeches voiced his real convictions, and if, as is clear, he was anxious that they should influence the voting. Bishop Hacket (of Lichfield), one of Cosin's more intimate friends among the bishops, wrote to Sheldon in a tone of pained surprise. "The Bishop of Durham is become a strange man. He should have considered how much his worthy master, Bishop Overall, was against his opinion. For his brother in evil, Chester, I make no reckoning of him and never look for any good from him." It has been suggested, in extenuation of Cosin's action, that at the time he "doted through age."[1] But there is nothing to suggest dotage in the report of his speech, which is cogent in argument, and full of apposite references to Holy Writ, the Fathers, and Conciliar decrees.[2]

[1] Clarke's *Life of James II.* Collected out of Memoirs writ of his own hand (London, 1816), i. 439.

[2] See p. 336, below for a detailed consideration of the views expressed.

All contemporary observers agree that the King showed an unusual interest in the proceedings, and it was confidently believed that he had in view a similar Bill to legalise a second marriage in his own case. But, despite his betrayal of Clarendon, it is hardly fair to conclude that in this case the royal attitude decided Cosin's; so far as a motive must be sought, it would seem to lie in the hope of enabling Charles to "remarry" and thus of frustrating the succession to the throne of the Duke of York, whose secession to Rome had by now become known. In this matter, too, as in others, Cosin may have been influenced by the anti-papal trend of his mind in these latter days: his argument is, to a great extent, aimed at "those of the Church of Rome, whose credit is only saved by those of our Church who agree with them."

Cosin's last participation in public affairs was in connection with the attempted Union between England and Scotland. Cromwell had forced such a Union upon Scotland; but, at the Restoration, the two Parliaments had automatically separated. But Charles, although he "would not build according to Cromwell's model" (so Clarendon tells us), recognised the mutual advantages of a Union. He had pressed the scheme on Lauderdale, the secretary for Scottish affairs, who seems, however, in spite of fair words, to have done everything to thwart it, knowing well how much he personally stood to lose by such an arrangement.[1] He assured

[1] *Lauderdale Papers*, Camden Society, iii. 143 ff.; cf. *English Historical Review*, July 1886.

the King, no doubt with absolute truth, that "great pains have been taken to alarm all sorts of people against it"; and that "the ruin of our trade by severe laws in England frights all ranks of men from having to do with England."

The English Parliament and Privy Council, too, were very lukewarm in the matter; and, although an Act authorising Commissioners to negotiate a Union was at last passed in 1670, it was foredoomed to failure. Cosin was named as one of the English Commissioners, and, with characteristic thoroughness, set himself to work up the whole question. He at once wrote to his secretary:

"I pray you tell me whereunto you conceive that Union will lead, for I hear that you have read the books that were published about it in King James's time, when the Union was first attempted and set on foot. Those books I cannot yet get."

There are signs that he was not altogether in favour of the proposal: the secretary having suggested, apparently, that "our northern people will suffer by it," Cosin was determined that it should "not pass to the prejudice of the northern counties."

After six weeks had been spent in intermittent discussion, Cosin commented briefly on the slow progress being made; but his domestic chaplain, Flower, in a letter of his own to the secretary, stated that the Scots had made the preposterous "proposal that *all* their Parliament might sit with ours"; and a fortnight later the Bishop's

son-in-law, Sir Gilbert Gerard, reported that "the Union is adjourned till March next, and from that I believe till doomsday." With Cosin obviously half-hearted, Lauderdale bent on obstruction, and Charles constitutionally inclined to follow the line of least resistance, the negotiations inevitably fell through.

If Cosin had been younger, more physically capable, and with a mind still open to new ideas, he might, perhaps, have seized this opportunity for the display of constructive statesmanship, and so might have added to his laurels the credit of promoting a Union between the two kingdoms which, since its accomplishment in 1707, has proved so mutually advantageous.

CHAPTER IX

HIS WARFARE ACCOMPLISHED

"I have fought the good fight, I have finished the course, I have kept the faith."—2 Tim. iv. 7.

Although Cosin possessed a robust outward frame ("a Prelatical presence," Basire says—"an earthly tabernacle of a goodly structure, for he was both tall and erect"), he had not for many years enjoyed really good health. As far back as 1627 Mountague wrote to him "to condole that which I can never forget, that fit of the stone; it is *morbus acutus*, but you see how long, through God's goodness, I have wrestled with it; so may you." Since then he had gone through much distress, both mental and physical, with his fate hanging in the balance during the early days of Puritan ascendancy, and then years of painfully straitened circumstances in exile.

Of the loss of sight which threatened him in Paris, we hear no more; but early in his episcopate there were signs that his health was failing. In December 1662, an urgent appeal by Sheldon for his attendance at Westminster had been repelled on the ground of ill-health; and in the following March he was still almost con-

fined to his room, hoping to " get out from hence at the beginning, or within a week after the beginning of April." For the next few years his correspondence is too meagre to enable us to follow the state of his health ; but from January 1669, onwards, when he was dictating frequent letters in London to his secretary, there are many references to his suffering " sharp pains of the strangury," " though in the intervals of those fits I am, God be thanked, in very good health." His intention had been to return to his diocese in April 1670 ; but he had to report that " the physician and the apothecary would not have me resolve upon my journey into the north till I see how it will go with me between this and the end of Whitsun-week." Again and again the journey had to be postponed, and it became evident that he was not likely to see Durham again.

A year later he expresses strong vexation at the suggestion that his end was approaching ; but a few days afterwards he writes in a calmer frame of mind : " As to your apprehension of my failing before the great Chapter-day, *transeat*, and let no more be said of it but that we are all in the hands of Almighty God, to live as long and as short a time as He pleaseth." He lingered on, however, cataloguing his well-loved books, dictating letters, and taking the air as the course of his complaint offered opportunity, until January 15th, 1671–2, when he died of a pectoral dropsy, having passed the seventy-sixth anniversary of his birth.

An account of his last days, written by his

protégé and executor, John Durel, deserves to be quoted almost in full :

" My Lord for very nigh a twelvemonth was seldom two months together free from violent fits of the strangury, and very seldom stirring abroad but that upon the least cold he took, or motion in the coach, he fell into a relapse, which would keep him in his chamber for a good time after. Yet notwithstanding so soon as he found any ease of his pain, he would be venturing abroad again to go to Chapel or Church, though the weather had been never so ill ; and when he hath at such a time been advised by his friends and physicians not to stir out for fear of hazarding the return of his pain, he hath often answered that when his body was unfit to serve and honour God, 'twas fit to go down to the dust from whence it came, and hath several times made expressions to that purpose, often saying, How willing he was to die and to that end had put his house in order, having made his will. . . . And in the last two months of his sickness, being hardly a day free from pain, and growing thereby very short-breathed, he had no stomach at all to eat, nor did he sleep at all but by slumbers above two hours in a whole night, all which time in the night, as those who watched with him do rehearse, he would have them read to him some divine meditations, with great earnestness of praying to himself that Almighty God would give him ease, and that He would either enable him to live to do Him service, or that it would please God he might die without pain ; which prayer certainly was heard and he had his desire, for the day that he died the physicians having given him several medicines for help of the anguish and pain of the stone, saying to his

lordship that they feared not at all but that he might have strength to recover out of that fit, as well as he had done out of many more, yet notwithstanding he would often say to them that he knew he should have no rest till he was with God and his body in the earth, and desired to have two divines who were the King's Chaplains then attending at Whitehall to be sent for to him, and when they came desired them to pray with him and that he might receive the Sacrament, which when he came to receive, being very ill upon his bed, and not being able to kneel, he was lifted into a chair, and having a violent pain in his head, for the ease of which it was fast bound, he would needs have it all undone and sit bareheaded, often saying, 'Lord, I bow the knees of my heart,' and to those who stood by to assist and help to bear him up, he made them all leave holding of him to kneel down, often saying, 'Lord Jesus, come quickly': and being thus ill, the divines asked him whether he would have the Bread only dipped in wine, and so take it, he answered, 'No, he would take it in both kinds,' and, within half an hour after, he desired to lie upon the bed, that they would go to prayers. The divines that were with him desired his blessing, and he prayed God to bless them and bless His Church in purity. He gave also at the same time his blessing to his children and grandchildren which were about him, bidding them to serve God, and immediately asked whether it were not four o'clock, and whether the chimes had not chimed to Church, for he fancied all day that the day was Sunday and that it was Church time, and seemed troubled that he should hinder so many from public serving God; and these were the only expressions that fell from him that he seemed to mistake the

day for Sunday, and that was the only thing that could incline those about him at all to imagine he mistook what he said, having his reason, memory, and sense to the last minute. And so, within half an hour after he had taken the Sacrament, died as if he had been going to sleep, without the least sign of pain or trouble, often lifting up his hands, and the last word he said was, 'Lord.'"

Cosin had left instructions that he was to be buried in the vault which he had prepared for that purpose in the middle of his chapel at Auckland Castle; but, owing to the bad state of the roads, it was impossible for his body to be conveyed thither till spring. It was, therefore, embalmed in London, and the burial did not take place until April 29th, 1672. The ceremony was conducted with a pomp and circumstance which, one cannot help feeling, would have gratified Cosin's sense of the dignity of his office and the worth of his services to the Church. According to the official account, his body was removed from "his lodging in the street called Pell Mell" upon Friday, April 19th, and—

"thence conveyed in an herse drawn by six horses, with banner-rolls on each side, borne by gentlemen of quality, through the Strand and Chancery Lane to the end of Gray's Inn Lane: a solemn proceeding made by seventy-seven poor men in mourning gowns, led by two conductors with black staves; and after them his servants, with divers gentlemen, etc. Then his chaplain.

Next the great banner, borne by Miles Stapylton, Esquire [his secretary]. After him Rougedragon, Pursuivant at Arms. Then York Herald, bearing the crozier, and Norroy King of Arms, the mitre; the chief mourner and his assistants all in their gowns and hoods following in coaches. Whence it was conveyed the same night to Welling in Hertfordshire, and so by several stations to North Allerton in Yorkshire, and upon Saturday, 27th April, to Durham, the great part of the gentry, with many of the clergy, of that County Palatine, meeting it at the River Tees, and attending thereon to that city, into which a solemn proceeding on horseback was made from Farwell Hall (a mile distant), the Mayor and Aldermen standing within the West Gate in their liveries, and following it to the Castle; whence, after a short stay, a new proceeding being formed on feet, it was borne to the Cathedral a little before Evening Prayer time in this manner:—First, two conductors with black gowns and staves. Then the poor of those his two Hospitals of Durham and Auckland by him founded. Next, servants to gentlemen. Then his own servants. After them Gentlemen, Esquires, and Knights (all in mourning), with many Clergymen of that Diocese in their canonical habits. Next to them five of his Chaplains. Then Sir Gilbert Gerard, Bart., Shireeve of the same County Palatine. Next to him the Bishop of Bristol. Then the great banner, crozier, and mitre (carried as before is expressed), and the corpse by eight men in gowns under a large pall of velvet supported by four Prebends of that Cathedral. On each side thereof the banner-rolls were likewise borne, as above said. After which followed the chief-mourner and his assistants in close mourning,

and after them the Mayor and Aldermen of Durham with a multitude of chief gentry thereabouts, the whole Quire in their surplices falling in next to the Chaplains at the entrance of the Churchyard. And thus coming to the upper end of the middle aisle of that Cathedral, the poor people, conductors, and servants dividing themselves, the rest entered the Quire and placed the corpse in the midst thereof, where it continued till Monday ensuing and then was carried to Bishop Auckland (about seven miles distant) in the like manner as into Durham, at which place the poor of the Hospitals beforementioned attending, were added to the proceeding made again on foot from the Market Cross there to that sumptuous Chapel adjoining to that Castle by him totally built, where, after Evening Service regularly completed, and a Sermon preached by the learned Dr. Basire, one of the Prebends of Durham, it was solemnly interred in a fair vault prepared under a large stone of black marble, the Bishop of Bristol [1] performing the office of burial."

On the marble stone over the vault in which Cosin's body was buried, the following inscription was engraved at his express desire; one would have thought that, in the absence of a gift of modesty, his sense of humour would have saved him from describing his own memory as "immortal."

[1] Guy Carleton, who, as Prebendary of Durham, had not always been on the best of terms with Cosin. A very similar account to the above is found in the *State Papers*, Domestic April 30th, 1672.

Requiescunt Enim

In non Morituram Memoriam

JOHANNIS COSINI,

Episcopi Dunelmensis,
Qui hoc Sacellum Construxit,
Ornavit et Deo Consecravit,
Anno Domini MDCLXV.
In Festo S. Petri.

Obiit [xv] die Mensis [Jan.]
Anno Domini MDCLXXI.

Et hic Sepultus est Expectans
Felicem Corporis
Resurrectionem
Ac Vitam in Cœlis Æternam.

Requiescat in Pace.

Qui Moriuntur in Domino,

A Laboribus Suis.

Beati Mortui

The sermon preached by Archdeacon Basire at Cosin's funeral was subsequently published in an expanded form under the title, " The Dead Man's Real Speech " (the text being Heb. xi. 4), and it has been frequently quoted in these pages. But although much space is there devoted to the character of Cosin, a funeral sermon is hardly the occasion on which to expect an impartial verdict on a departed dignitary. Moreover, Basire was too uncritical an encomiast to be followed with any reliance in an attempt to form an estimate of Cosin's character. Such an attempt must always be an ungrateful task and can only lead to very precarious conclusions.

It is difficult enough for a man's contemporaries to make due allowance for disinterested motives or to trace accurately the course of the inward life; it is quite impossible for one who has only documents by which to form his judgment. A biographer has to struggle, too, against his natural inclination to omit the uglier lines in the portrait of his hero; but, while being perfectly frank in his delineation of character, it is only right that he should remind his readers that it is far easier to recognise the bad points in a public character than to appreciate the good, and that it is only the features which easily catch the eye that can be traced with any confidence 240 years after a man's lifetime.

The accuracy and range of Cosin's learning was ungrudgingly recognised by his contemporaries, although, of course, the resources of modern scholarship were not within his reach; and there is no reason to call in question the depth and sincerity of his piety and religious convictions. Earlier pages have borne abundant testimony to such amiable traits as his love of books, of music, and of architecture, all of them devoted to the service of God: on these it is unnecessary to dwell further, beyond advancing the claim that it is to the appreciation of men like Cosin that we may, in some measure, attribute the success of Purcell and Sir Christopher Wren, the greatest musician and the greatest architect, not merely of the Stuart period, but of English history.

In the beautiful window in the hall of Peterhouse, Cambridge, the valediction of St. Paul,

printed at the head of this chapter, is most aptly applied to Cosin; for even a cursory study of his words and deeds must lead to the conclusion that the fundamental fact about him was that he was a fighter. There is not wanting evidence that, even in a physical sense, he was prone to violent methods in his younger days. It was reported that poor "Tom Fame," who circulated slanderous reports as to his loyal acceptance of the Royal Supremacy, had to be rescued by Mrs. Cosin; and Peter Smart assured the Commons that, when the Dean of Durham, one Candlemas night, "sent his servant to take down some of the candles about the Quire, Dr. Cosin did struggle with him in time of prayer, to the great disturbance of the congregation." Though little credence can be given to the evidence which supported such charges, it is not at all unlikely that a man of Cosin's temperament and vigour did occasionally find it difficult to keep his hands off those who gainsaid him.

But it is in a moral sense, of course, that we can claim that he had fought a "good fight." Especially in France, he had kept the field against all comers with unfailing courage and dexterity, on behalf of the Faith as held by the Church of England. And before his exile, when Puritanism, and not Popery, was the foe to be confronted, he never declined the battle, but rather sniffed it from afar, sought it out with zest, and laid about him with an undisguised relish. And if we cannot always exonerate him from the controversial bitterness which belongs to his age, we can certainly maintain that he never

sank to the vulgarity of abuse by no means uncommon at the time, and that he enlivened each encounter with a ready, trenchant wit.

As bishop, it was for the Church's order and discipline that he had to contend; and, though there is good evidence that he was genuinely anxious to come to honourable terms with the Presbyterians, he was implacably hostile, both to the frequenters of conventicles, whom he clearly regarded as a civil danger, and to Roman recusants. With regard to the latter, Sheldon thought it necessary on one occasion to warn him that "some great ones" were complaining that he was using "a severity not suitable to the lenity of his Majesty's Government and the present conjunction."

For his rights, too, Cosin was a most tenacious fighter; but here, again, we may well believe that he was actuated, less by personal considerations, than by a sense of official responsibility: he frequently reminds his correspondents that he is "sworn to maintain the rights and customs of the Bishopric of Durham." And if he was resolute in exacting his rights, he was no less scrupulous in the performance of his duties: as episcopal librarian, as prebendary, as incumbent, as head of a college, even as an ill-paid, down-trodden court chaplain, and finally as bishop, we can give unstinted praise to his industry and conscientiousness.

A similar trait, and a very marked one, was his methodical precision, which delighted in neatness of handwriting and in nice accuracy of statement, but latterly expressed itself especially

in strict, business-like methods. Basire dwells on this: "he was punctual," he says, "in his methods; for to my knowledge he loved order in his studies and functions, and he often repeated and generally observed the Apostle's canon, 'Let all things be done decently and in order.'"

And here we find that, like most strongly-marked characters, he had the defects of his qualities; for his business-like instincts developed into something akin to rapacity in the manipulation of leases and in the unblushing sale of patents and offices. But yet he was no miser, and we can, with striking appositeness, apply to him Shakespeare's characterisation of Cardinal Wolsey:

> "This cardinal,
> Though from a humble stock, undoubtedly
> Was fashion'd to much honour from his cradle.
> He was a scholar, and a ripe and good one;
> Exceeding wise, fair-spoken, and persuading:
> Lofty and sour to them that loved him not;
> But to those men that sought him, sweet as summer.
> And though he were unsatisfied in getting
> (Which was a sin), yet in bestowing, madam,
> He was most princely."

Cosin recognised and discharged, with punctilious solicitude, the manifold claims on his hospitality. In his letters, when absent from home, he repeatedly urged his servants to entertain, with due courtesy and heartiness, the Lord Commissioner on his way to and from Scotland, and the Judge at the Assize; and Smith, who was in close touch with Durham society, laid

special emphasis on Cosin's well-earned reputation for sociability.

"Nemo vicinos nobiles, quosvis peregrinantes, civesque ad mensam admissos (ut illius effusam in egenos largitatem praeteream) majori hospitalitate et animi promptitudine excepit. Sed absque omni vana profusione et luxu, prout Episcopum Christianum, juxta mandatum Apostolicum, maxime decebat: cujus, a tempore quo ante triginta annos Praebenda primum auctus fuerat, dum res domesticae manerent prosperae, erat retinentissimus."

Nor did he neglect that other Apostolic injunction, charging "them that are rich in this world" to be "rich in good works, ready to distribute, willing to sympathise." His unstinted expenditure on his episcopal houses, his library, and almshouses, and his bountiful endowments at Cambridge, have already been recounted. He was no less profuse in almsgiving, contributing most liberally to the redemption of English slaves at Algiers, and to the relief of those bereft by the Plague in London and Cambridge as well as in his own diocese,[1] of the destitute after the Fire of London, of distressed loyalists, and of poor students at the University. He subscribed generously towards the restoration of St. Paul's Cathedral. He made allowances to a granddaughter of the judicious Hooker, to a Greek Archimandrite,

[1] He was not content simply to give alms in connection with this calamity; he seems to have appointed that the first Wednesday of every month during its continuance should be observed as a Day of Humiliation; see *Works*, iv. 502 f.

and to a number of pensioners at Auckland. He had an ever-open hand for the roadside beggars passed on his journeys; and in his will he remembered handsomely the prisoners and the poor at every place with which he had had personal or official connection.

Basire tells us that "when in the prosecution of his great buildings, he was interpelled by some with the mention of his children, his usual answer was, 'The Church is my first-born.'" And yet Surtees computed that he was—

"Able to leave to his family possessions in lands, leases and money, which cannot be estimated at less than £20,000, a circumstance which can only be accounted for by supposing that most of the leases held under the See had expired since 1641, and that consequently Cosin received the sole profit of the renewals."

Burnet's statement supports this view:

"Almost all the leases of the Church estates over England were fallen in, there having been no renewal for twenty years. The leases for years were determined; and the wars had carried off so many men, that most of the leases for lives were fallen into hand. So that the Church estates were now in hand; and the fines raised by the renewing the leases rose to about a million and a half. It was an unreasonable thing to let those who were now promoted carry away so great a treasure. If the half had been applied to the buying in of tithes or glebes for small vicarages, here a foundation had been laid down for a great and effectual reformation. In some cases forty or fifty thousand pounds were

raised, and applied to the enriching the Bishops' families. Something was done to Churches and Colleges, in particular to St. Paul's in London, and a noble collection was made for redeeming all the English slaves that were in any part of Barbary. But this fell far short of what might have been expected." [1]

There is, no doubt, a good deal of truth in this charge, but it is hardly a fair statement of the facts: many of the Bishops were extraordinarily openhanded, and nearly all of them responded most heartily to the repeated calls for help in repairing the havoc wrought, first by Puritanic bigotry, and later by plague and fire in London and elsewhere. Cosin, at any rate, was regarded as the most munificent prelate of his time.

But, while we praise his munificence, we have to make the damning exception that he sullied the virtue of his good deeds by an unseemly boastfulness. Rarely could any one have been more determined that his left hand should know what his right was doing. This, no doubt, was due in part to his business-like instincts, which will to some extent account for the repeated lists of his benefactions drawn up by himself.[2] But it will hardly justify the complacency of tone in which he dwells upon his generosity; nor will it extenuate the equivocation by which he claimed to have entirely rebuilt Auckland Chapel, and

[1] *History of My Own Time* (1897), i. 329.

[2] Some of these have been published by Canon Ornsby in the *Cosin Correspondence*, but another, hitherto unpublished, will be found summarised in an Appendix on p. 371, below.

the lamentable vanity which insisted that, in his epitaph, the epithet "undying" should be applied to his memory. It is only fair to Cosin, however, that we should recall the words with which, in his Will, he closed a final recital of his good deeds:

"All which expenses laid out upon the repairing and rebuilding the Bishop's houses aforesaid and works of piety I here insert and mention in my last Will and Testament as works of duty belonging to me, and not out of any ostentation or boasting of it, as well to satisfy the world in general, as my successors, the Bishops of Durham in particular, that although I received near upon £20,000 for fines of leases (and truly I received no more from my first coming into the Bishopric in the year 1660 to the end of seven years following, notwithstanding all the vain reports of larger sums received by me for those fines of leases), yet took I no part of those fines to my own private use, or to make provision by them for my children, but laid out the whole sum received, and a great deal more, upon the aforesaid repairs and upon the pious uses before expressed; all which disbursements, I hope, will acquit me as to my successors from any pretence of dilapidations, and, as to the world, from any opinion or censure that I have enriched myself, or increased my estate, by any benefit or advantage arising from the aforesaid fines."

Perhaps Cosin's most marked characteristic in his old age was an irritability, which even the habit of smoking (believed by many of its devotees to have a soothing effect) can have done little to mitigate. Especially in his dealings

with his dependants, he seems to have been painfully short in temper and impatient of contradiction. This comes out most clearly in his correspondence with his secretary, Miles Stapylton, in a way which, however trying to the wretched official himself, is highly entertaining to the reader, who cannot fail to be amused, not only by the general quaintness of the Bishop's diction (Surtees calls it his "sub-acid humour"), but still more by the way in which his Lordship sets out to be despotic but ends by being querulous. Thus we find that a series of complaints, which included "letting two posts come hither this week without ever a word," and carelessness in the disposition of "periods and commas," ended in July 1670, in the following fretful capitulation:

"You do yourself and me also much wrong to say upon the serious perusal of my letters that you despair ever either to write or do anything that shall be pleasing or acceptable to me; for your own conscience and my frequent and kind expressions in my letters, besides those words which I have often said personally to you, will tell you to the contrary. Yet you are now at last come to that conclusion, at which you have been driving in many of your late letters, that you grow weary of me, and find it a very uneasy thing to continue any longer in the management of my affairs, and therefore you pray me to appoint somebody else for that purpose, which you know well at this distance I cannot do. And I hope when you have well considered of it you will make no more such motions; for you have divers offices under me

which, as matters now stand, you know cannot be well managed without you, and therefore I hope you will give me time to consider of it. In the meanwhile I must needs take this motion (I had almost said this pettish and forward motion) to be a very great disregard of me who am your very loving friend, Jo. Duresme."

A year later matters came to a head once more, and the Bishop wrote in a tone of puzzled indignation, which suggests that he quickly forgot the passing ebullitions of his easily moved spleen :

"I have received yours of the 13th instant wherein you take me up and find fault with me at your pleasure, sometimes telling me that I do you wrong even in that particular wherein I intended to show you kindness, and sometimes saying that you wonder and marvel at me, as if I knew not to write either sense or reason ; and otherwise blaming me for not taking care to have Mr. Arden examined to your interrogatories, and hardly is there one paragraph in your letter which taketh not the liberty to reprimand me. Now I pray take your words back again to yourself. I pray, Mr. Stapylton, give over your angry expostulations with me, which I have not patience enough to endure. Your own reason will give you that it is no way fit thus to return almost every word I write, and in a manner to chide your master, as you have done in this and many other of your letters: wherein now the second time you have bidden me to get somebody else to make answers unto my questions, which how I can do when you only are acquainted with all my reckonings and

affairs, unless you can instruct that somebody else with everything that you know about them, having been versed in them so many years together, I leave to your own consideration. When I would ask any question about my Library, I think it the most proper to ask it of you that are the Library-keeper and have a stipend given you for it of £20 per annum; and when I would ask anything about my Demesne lands and my bonds, or other debts arreared, I think it most proper to ask those two persons to whom I have hitherto allowed £30 per annum for the looking after them, and if they will look after them still as they should do, I do not intend to allow them less. Again, when I would demand anything about my Ecclesiastical affairs, I think it most proper to be satisfied therein by my Secretary, for which his wages and fees are paid him, as well for ecclesiastical writings as for writing of leases, etc. And lastly, when I have any scruples about the Roll Accompt, it is proper to require satisfaction about them from my Auditor, and not from somebody else (as you call him) who understands not the office."

Very few characters are perfectly straight in the grain and wholly free from knots, and Cosin's cross-grained humour was a venial fault in view of the harsh buffetings of fortune to which he had been exposed. Much can be overlooked in one who had had to fight down resentment against injustice and was constantly in the throes of physical torture, whilst a further extenuation of his irascibility may be found in the sore disappointments which he had suffered as a father.

It is perfectly true that a father must often blame himself for any failure in his children; and it may be argued that Cosin's temperament was one which would readily alienate the affections and the confidences of the young. Of that we are not in the position to judge with any certainty; but we do know that, not long before his own children were born, he was enough of a child-lover to win the devotion of Richard Mountague's little daughter, who was commonly called his "little wife." It is enough to explain what Cosin's secretary called "the distractions of his family" when we remember that his children lost their mother before they were in their 'teens, and that for some years subsequently their father was living in destitution and exile, unable to provide them with a home.

Of his three sons, the two eldest died in infancy; John, the survivor, was a vain, unbalanced, and passionate youth, of whose changes of religion something has already been said.[1] His father seems to have failed entirely to understand him, and had no sympathy with his denominational deviations; he felt, apparently, that severity was the best course to adopt; and in the short interval when the younger Cosin returned to the Anglican obedience, those about the Bishop complained that the youth "is so far from being used as an only son, that he is not used as a son at all." When the inevitable result followed, and young Cosin was again received into the Roman Church, his father wrote bitterly, "Let him go; he is not worth the

[1] See p. 126, above.

owning, nor any further seeking after him. In the meanwhile they that have thus lured him and conveyed him away are most unworthy persons." Later, however, he relented so far as to make his son an allowance of £50 a year, and in his Will he bequeathed to him an annuity of £100, augmented by a subsequent codicil to £150. It is impossible to read unmoved the words in which he speaks of his "lost son," who—

"hath dealt very undutifully with me his indulgent father, and twice forsaken his Mother the Church of England, and the Protestant, being the true Catholic religion there professed, to my great grief and trouble, having not come to me for better advice, but wholly avoided me during these four last years together."

There can be few things more grievous to a father whose religious convictions are real and deep than to feel that his son's heart is not as his heart and that they are parting company as regards the most momentous matters; and if the estrangement is partly due to his own faults of treatment, the sense of void and inner bereavement will only be the more poignant. We can well believe Nalson's statement that Cosin used to refer to this as "the most sensible affliction that ever befel him in his whole life."[1]

Of his four daughters, Mary, the eldest, seems alone to have answered his expectations. She was a capable and masterly woman, not unlike her father, over whom she certainly gained a

[1] *An Impartial Collection*, etc., vol. I. p. 519.

considerable ascendancy. He leant much on her and her husband, Sir Gilbert Gerard, M.P. and High Sheriff of the County Palatine; and it was thought by some of those about him that he accepted their views too readily, to the detriment of the other members of the family.

Both Elizabeth, who married four times, and Frances, who married twice, incurred the suspicion of wanton behaviour in their relations with the other sex; and of neither of them does Cosin speak with any genuine affection.

His youngest child, Anne, was the unfortunate wife of Denis Granville, who has been already mentioned in connection with the bestowal of the Bishop's patronage.[1] She was only eighteen years of age when she married, and it needed but a few years of daily intercourse with that hot-tempered martinet to unhinge her intellect. Cosin and her other relations, indeed, could not be persuaded that her mind was really affected. There can be little doubt that she was liable to occasional distempers, of which Granville seems to have been honourably informed before marriage, and these attacks probably increased in frequency and violence owing to the injudicious behaviour of her husband.

There is a letter extant in which Granville also implied that his wife was intemperate in the use of "strong water bottles and the like." This letter gives the impression, which other testimony confirms, that Granville did not behave in at all a gentlemanly way towards her. He complained to persons at Court that he had

[1] See p. 261, above.

been "ensnared" into his marriage, and he made it perfectly plain that it was the hope of a large dowry that had induced so eligible a personage as himself to make so poor a match. It had not taken Cosin long to discover that he had married his daughter to a hopeless spendthrift, and he had been very careful to make the £1000 which he had settled upon her accessible to none but her trustees. This led to a most unedifying family squabble, in which not only the Earl of Bath, Granville's brother, and the Duke of Albemarle, his cousin, joined, but even the King himself, who wrote twice to Cosin, desiring him in peremptory terms to bestow a portion upon his daughter. This the Bishop grimly declined to do, mainly on the ground that it would encourage Granville in his extravagance and in the neglect of his pastoral duties.

An impartial examination of the whole correspondence[1] leaves the conviction that the Bishop was in the right; and certainly it rouses our sympathies for the poor wife, of whom the last we hear in Cosin's letters is that—

"she is mewed up in a straight corner of Threadneedle Street in London and she knows not what to do with herself, not daring to come hither, because he [*i.e.* Granville, then gadding about France] hath countermanded it, and said that he will not allow her twopence if she comes to live in my family."

[1] Most of it has been brought together in R. Granville's *Life of Denis Granville* (1902), pp. 23 ff.

No wonder Granville, in after-years, spoke of Cosin as a "choleric old gentleman"; and yet he obviously respected his father-in-law, and never tired of quoting him as an authority on ecclesiastical questions.

Into Cosin's views on such questions some inquiry must be made before bringing this volume to a close. The result of such an inquiry should have, not only the value which ordinarily attaches to the opinions of a learned scholar, but also a special interest and importance as indicating the Churchmanship of one who was probably the ruling spirit in the last revision of our Prayer Book.

The first point that clearly emerges is that Cosin was not nearly as advanced in his doctrinal and ceremonial standpoint as the Puritans thought him, or as modern "High Churchmen" have sometimes claimed: the latter have attributed to him opinions really expressed by his friend Hayward, which, even if accepted by Cosin in his youth, were considerably modified in his later years, when his hostility to Rome had been accentuated by personal contact with popish practices.

Judged by a modern standard, he was no "ritualist," in the popular, inaccurate use of the word for one who practises an extreme ceremonial. As Prebendary of Durham, he had adopted a ceremonial of repeated *reverences towards the altar*, which he had learnt from Bishop Andrewes[1]; and there can be little doubt that,

[1] He had copied from Andrewes elaborate ceremonial directions into his First Series of Notes.

as a member of Convocation, he gave his voice for the seventh Canon of 1640, which—

"commended it to all good and well-affected people, members of this Church, that they be ready to tender unto the Lord the said acknowledgement, by doing reverence and obeisance, both at their coming in and going out of the said churches, chancels, or chapels, according to the most ancient custom of the primitive Church in the purest times, and of this Church also for many years of the reign of Queen Elizabeth."

From a record in the *Acts of the Durham High Commission*,[1] it is clear that Cosin's ceremonial devoutness made him a marked man wherever he went. Two citizens of Newcastle, suspected of being Romish recusants, were charged with "intending to scandal the religion of the Church of England," on the ground that, "the day after Dr. Cosin had preached a sermon in the parish church of St. Nicholas of Newcastle," one had said, "My Lord of Canterbury and he are both ours," and the other had asked, "Did you observe Dr. Cosins his gestures in time of Divine service? Do you know how they catch apes?" . . . "examinate is induced to believe that he meant that the Protestants were catching or inclining to their popish religion."

As Prebendary, Cosin had, also, been the moving spirit in the introduction, at Durham, of a regular choral celebration of the Holy

[1] Surtees Society, p. 132. Other instances of Cosin's devoutness have been noted above; see p. 23.

Eucharist ("Communion with jubilation," it was called), and, as Bishop, he had insisted on a weekly *Choral Communion*. But in 1627 he acquiesced in the Bishop's decision that the full Eucharistic vestments should be surrendered in favour of copes; and, in spite of his conviction of the legality of the former, he made no attempt, apparently, to reintroduce them when himself Visitor of the Cathedral. But this is a point which will arise more naturally when his views on the Ornaments Rubric are investigated.

At Peterhouse, Cambridge, he adopted a ceremonial use which attracted much attention and aroused not a little indignation. *Incense* was certainly used by him there; but, as Bishop, he does not seem to have used it in his chapel at Auckland.

He was opposed to such ceremonies as "the benediction, distribution, and procession of palms round the Church" on Palm Sunday, speaking of them as having been "justly taken away from the usage of our Church."[1] And he deprecated the Elevation of the consecrated Elements as encouraging the adoration of the outward sign,[2] although he was quite definite in claiming that, at the Holy Communion, English Churchmen adore Christ Himself, though not the Sacrament.[3]

There is no evidence that he himself used *Wafers* at the Eucharist, but he insisted that "there was a liberty still reserved of using wafer-bread, which was continued in divers churches of the kingdom, and Westminster for one, till

[1] *Works*, v. 274. [2] *Ibid.*, v. 340 ff. [3] *Ibid.*, iv. 360.

the seventeenth of King Charles" (*i.e.* 1642–3).[1] On the question of the *Mixed Chalice*, we have no indisputable expression of his own views; but, in the notes copied from Hayward, there is an interesting entry, to which he would most probably have added a marginal note if it had met with his disapproval:

"This were enough to free our Church from any heinous offence, though it uses not commonly to mix water with wine, as the Church of Rome doth. And yet we must confess the custom is very ancient, consonant to the figures of the Old Testament, which St. Cyprian, Ep. iii. lib. ii., reckons up, and of the New, where water and blood issued out of Christ's side; and agreeable, as there is great probability, to Christ's own practice when He did institute this Holy Sacrament. . . . The ancient liturgies are all for *vinum cum aqua mixtum*. . . . Our Church forbids it not, for aught I know, and they that think fit may use it, as some most eminent among us do at this day; yet for the approbation of our most common practice, which is to consecrate wine alone without water, we have all this on our side. . . ."[2]

With regard to his position in celebrating the Holy Communion, Cosin's practice, according to his own statement made to the Long Parliament, was to begin at the north side or end, but to take the *Eastward Position* at the Consecration

[1] *Works*, v. 481.

[2] *Ibid.*, v. 153 f. Cf. *ibid.*, v. 105, whither Cosin had transcribed Bishop Andrewes' directions to mix wine and water before the Consecration.

Prayer.[1] At the revision of 1661, words were introduced into the Communion Service, probably at his instigation, definitely ordering the priest to stand "before the Table" to consecrate. But the rubric which enjoins the north side for the opening of the service was retained; and, in his office for the Consecration of a Church, a chaplain was to begin the Communion Service "at the North of the Table," where a kneeler was definitely placed in his chapel at Auckland.[2]

Cosin's matured opinion on the interpretation of the *Ornaments Rubric* is perfectly clear, although he seems to have been a little undecided in his earlier years. He had copied from Hayward the statement that—

"according to this rubric, are we all still bound to wear albs and vestments. . . . If any man shall answer that now the 58th Canon hath appointed it otherwise, and that these things are alterable by the direction of the Church wherein we live, I answer that such matters are to be altered by the same authority wherewith they were established, and that if that authority be the Convocation of the clergy, as I think it is only that, that the 14th Canon commands us to observe all the ceremonies prescribed in this book. I would fain know how we should observe both Canons."

And it is almost certain that Cosin persuaded his brethren in the Durham Chapter to accept this interpretation of the rubric and to use the

[1] See above, pp. 94 f. [2] *Corr.* ii. 188, 169.

Eucharistic vestments in the Cathedral.[1] But, when in 1627, the Bishop insisted on the chasubles being changed into copes, in accordance with the Canon of 1604, Cosin seems to have been convinced of the correctness of that decision; for he not only acquiesced, but added the following words to Hayward's note quoted above: "But the Act of Parliament, I see, refers to the Canon, and until such time as other order shall be taken."[2]

But in his Second Series of Notes, compiled after 1638, he again changed his mind and definitely referred the rubric to the First Prayer Book of 1549[3]:

"It is here to be noted that in his [Edward VI.'s] time there were two several liturgies, and two several Acts of Parliament made to confirm them. One in the 2nd year, and another in the 5th year of his reign. In which 5th year (upon the disuse which some men made of the former ornaments, or upon the displeasure that other men took against them both at home and abroad), it was appointed by the 2nd liturgy, and enacted by Parliament authority, 'That the minister, at the time of the Communion, and at all other times in his ministration, should use neither alb, vestment, nor cope; but, being an archbishop or bishop, should have and wear a

[1] *Corr.* i. 170.

[2] *Works*, v. 43.

[3] It can, of course, be argued that the First Prayer Book was not in use until the third year of Edward VI.; but Cosin, doubtless, knew that the Act of Uniformity of 1552 referred to the Act of Uniformity of 1549 as having been "made in the second year of the King's Majesty's reign."

rochet; and being a priest or deacon, should have and wear a surplice only.' And yet this latter book, and Act of Parliament thereunto annexed, did not condemn either the ornaments or anything beside that was appointed in the former book, but acknowledged it all to have been 'a very godly order, agreeable to the Word of God and the primitive Church.' Whereupon, by authority of Parliament, in the 1st year of Queen Elizabeth, albeit it was thought most meet to follow and continue the order of divine service in Psalms, lessons, hymns, and prayers (a few of them only varied) which was set forth in the 5th year of King Edward; yet for the ornaments of the Church and of the ministers thereof, the order appointed in the 2nd year of his reign was retained, and the same are we bound still to observe."

And, a few lines below, Cosin added that the "other order" mentioned in the Act of 1559, "so qualified as is here appointed to be was never yet made."[1] And in the same series of Notes, at the beginning of the Communion Office, he again insisted that the order in force in the English Church was this:

"The priest who shall (at the time of the Communion) execute the holy ministry, shall put upon him a vesture appointed for that ministration, that is to say, a white alb plain, with a vestment or cope; and all other priests and deacons, who shall help him in that ministration, shall have upon them likewise the vestments appointed for their ministry, that is to say albs with tunicles; but a bishop shall have upon

[1] *Works*, v. 232 f.

him, besides his rochet, a surplice or alb, and a cope or vestment, and also his pastoral staff in his hand, or else borne or holden by his chaplain; and the preachers shall wear their hoods belonging to their several degrees taken in either of the Universities of this realm." [1]

And in this connection, as also elsewhere,[2] Cosin maintained that "the setting of two Lights upon the Communion-table or altar" was definitely ordered.

In his Third Series, he was still of the same opinion, and claimed as the legal ornaments—

"Two lights to be set upon the altar or communion-table, a cope or vestment for the priest and for the bishop, besides their albs, surplices, and rochets, the bishop's crozier-staff to be holden by him at his ministration and ordinations; and those ornaments of the Church, which by former laws, not then abrogated, were in use, by virtue of the statute 25 Henry VIII., and for them the provincial constitutions are to be consulted, such as have not been repealed, standing then in the 2nd year of King Edward VI., and being still in force by virtue of this rubric and Act of Parliament." [3]

This passage is of special importance, as proving that Cosin recognised the Ornaments Rubric to cover, not merely the ornaments *mentioned* in the Prayer Book of 1549, but those *used* under that Prayer Book—a very different thing. And, further, he repeats his conviction that no "other order" had been taken:

[1] *Works*, v. 305 f. [2] *Ibid.*, v. 231. [3] *Ibid.*, v. 438 f.

"Which since that time was never altered by any other law, and therefore it is still in force at this day. And both bishops, priests and deacons, that knowingly and wilfully break this order, are as hardly censured in the Preface to this book concerning ceremonies, as ever Calvin or Bucer censured the ceremonies themselves. Among other ornaments of the Church also then in use, in the 2nd year of Edward VI. there were two *Lights* appointed by his Injunctions (which the Parliament had authorized him to make, and whereof otherwhiles they made mention, as acknowledging them to be binding) to be set upon the high-altar, as a significant ceremony of the light which Christ's Gospel brought into the world; and this at the same time, when all other lights and tapers superstitiously set before images, were by the same Injunctions, with many other absurd ceremonies and superfluities, taken away. These lights were (by virtue of this present rubric, referring to what was in use in the 2nd of Edw. VI.) afterwards continued in all the Queen's chapels, during her whole reign; and so are they in the King's, and in many Cathedral Churches, besides the chapels of divers noblemen, bishops and colleges to this day." [1]

There can, then, be no possibility of doubt that Cosin was convinced, after very careful inquiry, that the ornaments of the Church and of the ministers which were in use under the First Prayer Book of 1549 were re-imposed by the Ornaments Rubric of 1559. And this, as deliberately repeated in 1662 (in spite of the Puritans' objection at the Savoy that it "seemeth to bring back the cope, alb, etc. and other

[1] *Works*, v. 440.

vestments "), must have a higher authority than either the Canons of 1604 or the Advertisements of 1566, even if the latter could reasonably be regarded as a taking of "other order." [1]

But the question naturally arises, why, in the Articles of Visitation exhibited by him as Bishop, did Cosin make no reference to the vestments, although he carefully inquired about the use of the surplice? Presumably he recognised that "Charity [or rather, in this case, perhaps, expediency] is above rubrics." He, and all the Restoration Bishops, must have felt that any attempt to enforce the strict observance of the Ornaments Rubric at that time would have been both futile and fatal; but many of them doubtless hoped that its insertion in the Prayer Book would, sooner or later, be justified by the advent of a generation which would appreciate the uplifting effects of symbolism and splendour in the public worship of God.[2]

Of practices which may be called subsidiary to ceremonial, it is worthy of remark that, when in residence at Caius College, Cambridge, Cosin had actually impaired his health by his rigorous *fasting*, a practice which his household accounts prove him not to have abandoned when Bishop.

Doctrinally, his expressions of opinion were almost invariably influenced by the emphasis which he gradually came to lay on Romish

[1] On the general question, the reader should consult the Report of a sub-committee of Bishops on "The Ornaments of the Church and its Ministers" (S.P.C.K.), 1908.

[2] It is noteworthy that Cosin had referred only to the surplice in his Archidiaconal Visitation, although about then he must have been expressing the views printed above.

corruptions. He had, of course, no doubt whatever as to the *Continuity and Catholicity of the English Church*. The arrival of Romanisers in Henrietta Maria's retinue led him to give utterance to some plain speaking in the Preface of his *Devotions*:

"They who give it out and accuse us here in England to have set up a new Church and a new Faith, to have abandoned all the ancient forms of piety and devotion, to have taken away all the religious exercises and prayers of our forefathers, to have despised all the old ceremonies and cast behind us the blessed Sacraments of Christ's Catholic Church—these men do little else but betray their own infirmities, and have more violence and will than reason or judgment for what they say." [1]

And in his Preface to the *Scholastical History of the Canon*, written during his exile in France, he again felt it a duty to answer—

"Those men, who do now so busily endeavour to seduce the sons and daughters of the Church of England from the grounds and truth of our religion, which is no other than what we have received from Christ and His universal Church, termed nevertheless by them a new Church and a new religion that began in the days of King Henry VIII.; which is as true as if they should say a sick person began then first to live when he recovered from the disease and distemper that was before upon him: for we are the same Church still, as he the same person, that we were before, though in a better estate and health of

[1] *Works*, ii. 90 f.

our souls, in a greater soundness and purity of religion, than indeed we were before, when they had to do with it and infected us." [1]

He most decidedly did not admit the claim of the Roman Church to a monopoly of the title "Catholic," but appealed again and again to the "Catholic Faith professed by the Church of England." He took a special delight, however, in combining the epithets "Catholic" and "Protestant": he called himself a "Catholic Protestant" [2] he described the English Church as being "Protestant and Reformed according to the ancient Catholic Church," [3] and he spoke of "our truly Catholic and Protestant religion." [4] Throughout his writings, and more especially, perhaps, in his treatise, *Regni Angliæ Religio Catholica*,[5] he made it perfectly clear that he regarded himself as a Catholic, because he was in communion with the historic Church which, in England, had retained the Apostolic Faith, Sacraments, and Ministry; and that, on the other hand, he regarded himself as a Protestant, not because he accepted the type of Protestantism professed by those who drove him into exile, but because he "could not brook every novelty in the Church of Rome (and the novelties of it only have we left)," [6] and also because he recognised a community of interest with the Protestant Churches abroad.

It was, in part admittedly, this community

[1] *Works*, iii. xxxi.
[2] *Ibid.*, iv. 167.
[3] *Ibid.*, iv. 156.
[4] *Ibid.*, iv. 472.
[5] *Ibid.*, iv. 339 ff.
[6] *Ibid.*, iv. 300.

of interest which induced him to adopt a most conciliatory *Attitude towards the reformed bodies* abroad—an attitude which distressed some of his friends and would be endorsed to-day by very few Churchmen who are in sympathy with his general Churchmanship. How cordial his relations were with the Huguenots has been already described; and he urged all those who sought his advice not to repudiate the validity of their Orders nor to reject their ministrations.

"Though we may safely say, and maintain it, that their ministers are not so duly and rightly ordained, as they should be, by those prelates and bishops of the Church who, since the Apostles' time, have only had the ordinary power and authority to make and constitute a priest; yet that by reason of this defect there is a *total nullity* in their ordination, or that they be therefore no priests or ministers of the Church at all, because they are ordained by those only who are no more but priests or ministers among them, for my part I would be loath to affirm and determine against them. And these are my reasons: First, I conceive that the power of ordination was restrained to bishops, rather by *Apostolical practice* and the perpetual custom and canons of the Church than by any *absolute precept* that either Christ or His Apostles gave about it. . . . Secondly, there have been both learned and eminent men . . . who have held and maintained it for good and passable divinity, that presbyters have the intrinsical power of ordination *in actu primo*, though for the avoiding of schism (as St. Hierome speaks) and preserving order and discipline in the Church, they have been restrained ever since the first times, and

still are (but where they take a liberty to themselves that was never duly given them) from exercising their power *in actu secundo*. . . . Thirdly, if upon this ground we renounce the French, we must for the very same reason renounce all the ministers of Germany besides . . . and then what will become of the Protestant party ? " [1]

To Gunning, who seems to have been much disquieted on reading these words, Cosin wrote a letter of self-justification, in which he said :

" The question only is whether there be such an absolute necessity and precept in that *jus divinum* in all places and at all times, as, where it cannot be put in practice, there in such a case of necessity, the ordination of a Presbyter by a college of Presbyters (though altogether against the ancient and apostolical canons, for which they are to answer) shall be utterly void and invalid to all effects whatsoever (as you know who hold our administration to be when a lawful Presbyter cannot be had or found to perform it)—whether, in such a case, if you were a Bishop, you would ordain the Presbyter again, or no ; which was never yet done in the Church of England, but in Mr. Dury's case alone, and that upon his own earnest desire and pretence of conscience, though all the world saw he looked another way :—whether the Church of England hath ever determined the French and German ordinations by Presbyters or superintendents to be null and vain ? and hath not rather admitted them and employed them at several times in public administration of the Sacraments and other divine offices among us ?—yea, whether

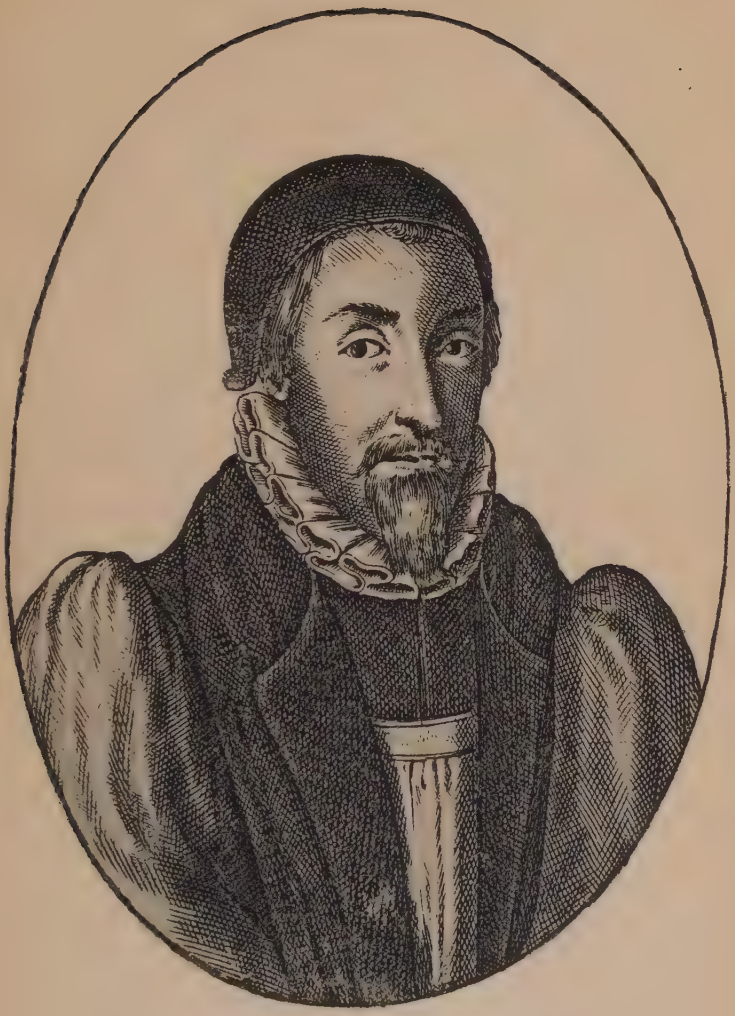
[1] *Works*, iv. 401 ff., cf. 337 f., 386.

there was not a law made (13th Eliz.) to allow such an ordination, then questioned by some persons, whereof I could tell you a long story out of our records in the Church of Durham, which I have heretofore diligently perused? I could tell you another of Bishop Overall's judgment herein, who was as great a patron of antiquity and the Church of England as any Bishop or Priest that ever lived in it; and was wont to say, 'Though we are not to lessen the *jus divinum* of Episcopacy, where it is established and may be had, yet we must take heed that we do not, for want of Episcopacy where it cannot be had, cry down and destroy all the Reformed Churches abroad, both in Germany, France and other places, and say they have neither ministers nor sacraments, but all is void and null that they do.' This is all the letter drives at, and at nothing else: which truly I cannot apprehend how it either hurts the *jus divinum* of Episcopacy or excuseth their voluntary and transcendent impiety, that have endeavoured to destroy it in the Church of England, contrary to the laws of God and His universal Church, the Mother of us all." [1]

It should be noted, however, that the Act, 13 Eliz. c. 12, to which Cosin referred in this letter, simply insisted that those wishing to be admitted to a benefice must subscribe to the Articles of Religion, and did not concern itself at all with the validity of their ordination.[2] The "long story out of our records in the Church of Durham," no doubt, concerned Whittingham, who, though without valid orders, had been

[1] *Works*, iv. 448 ff.

[2] See C.H.S. Tract lvii., E. Denny (S.P.C.K.), pp. 39 ff.



John Overall (1560-1619).

(From Hollar's print).

appointed Dean of Durham in Elizabeth's reign. But no cure of souls is attached to deaneries, which, in pre-Reformation days, had been called *beneficia simplicia* and had been frequently held by laymen. Moreover, when Whittingham presumed to celebrate the Holy Communion, a writ was issued against him; he died very soon after the proceedings began, but Archbishop Whitgift declared that "if Mr. Whittingham had lived, he had been deprived without special grace or dispensation."[1] The case in which Bishop Overall was concerned was also cited by Cosin in a letter which came into the possession of Thomas Birch, the editor of Tillotson's *Works*: he tells us that in this letter Cosin claimed to have witnessed Overall's dealings with a—

"Dr. de Laune who, being presented to a living and coming to the Bishop, then at Norwich, with his presentation, his Lordship asked him where he had his orders. He answered that he was ordained by the presbytery at Leyden. The Bishop upon this, advised him to take the opinion of counsel, whether by the laws of England he was capable of a benefice without being ordained by a bishop. The Dr. replied that he thought his Lordship would be unwilling to re-ordain him, if his counsel should say that he was not otherwise capable of the living by law. The Bishop rejoined, 'Re-ordination we must not admit, no more than a re-baptization; but in case you find it doubtful whether you be a priest capable to receive a benefice among us, or no, I will do the same office for you, if you desire it, that I should do for one who doubts of

[1] C.H.S. Tract lvii., pp. 59 ff.

his baptism, when all things belonging essentially unto it have not been duly observed in the administration of it, according to the rule in the Book of Common Prayer, "If thou beest not already, etc." Yet for mine own part, if you will adventure the orders that you have, I will admit your presentation and give you institution into the living howsoever.' But the title, which this presentation had from the patron, proving not good, there were no farther proceedings in it; yet afterwards Dr. de Laune was admitted into another benefice without any new ordination." [1]

Cosin was not, indeed, the only theologian in those difficult times to take this irregular line about the ministry of the Reformed Churches abroad. But it is manifest that, apart from being ill-informed as to his facts and misled by his devotion to Overall's memory, he was prejudiced by an avowed anxiety to support the Protestant party, and, still more perhaps, by a sense of exasperation against the Papists, who had bitterly attacked him from the moment of his arrival in Paris.

The other point on which Cosin diverged very widely from those with whom he generally agreed, may best be considered here. The pain given to the other Bishops by his speeches on the Roos *Divorce Bill* has been mentioned on an earlier page; but he was not without strong arguments in support of his view that "a man being divorced from his wife, who hath committed adultery and is convicted of it, may marry himself to

[1] Tillotson's *Works* (1820), vol. i. p. cxxii.

another wife during the life of her which is divorced." [1] He reached this opinion after carefully collating St. Matt. v. 32, xix. 9, St. Mark x. 11, St. Luke xvi. 18, Romans vii. 2, and 1 Cor. vii. 10. He supported it by an inquiry into what the bond of marriage is:

"Being a conjugal promise, solemnly made between a man and his wife, that each of them will live together, according to God's holy ordinance, notwithstanding poverty or infirmity or such other things as may happen during their lives, separation from bed and board, which is part of their promise so to live together, doth plainly break that part of the bond, whereby they are tied to live together both as to bed and to board. The distinction betwixt bed and board and the bond is new, never mentioned in the Scripture and unknown in the ancient Church, devised only by the canonists and the schoolmen in the Latin Church (for the Greek Church knows it not) to serve the Pope's turn the better, till he got it established in the Council of Trent."

He cited a long list of Councils and of Fathers (including St. Basil, St. Jerome, St. Hilary, St. Ambrose, and Theodoret) in support of his contention, and he added that "all the Greek Church to this day allow this": this is true in effect, though, strictly speaking, the Greek Church, while insisting on the indissolubility of marriage, in certain cases grants a dispensation allowing a polygamous marriage; to some minds such a compromise is worse than the evil

[1] *Works*, iv. 489 ff.

which it seeks to evade. In examining the practice of the English Church, Cosin argued somewhat disingenuously that, although—

"in Canon 107 [1] it is provided they shall not marry again, yet it is not said such marriages are void, only the caution is forfeited: neither doth the Canon speak of such separations, wherein the bond itself is broken, as it is by fornication."

He maintained that the pre-Reformation—

"Canons, which in the case of adultery prohibit marrying in the lifetime of the guilty party, are contrary to two Acts of Parliament, made 25 Hen. VIII. and 3 & 4 Edw. VI., wherein no canons are allowed that be any way repugnant to the law of God, or the Scripture, the King's prerogative royal, and the statutes of this land."

He referred to the "Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum," which, however, he must have known to have received no sort of legal or ecclesiastical sanction. He claimed, rightly, no doubt, the support of the most considerable men of the Reformed Churches abroad, especially quoting

[1] "In all sentences pronounced only for divorce and separation *a thoro et mensa*, there shall be a caution and restraint inserted in the act of the said sentence, That the parties so separated shall live chastely and continently; neither shall they, during each other's life, contract matrimony with any other person. And for the better observation of this last clause, the said sentence of divorce shall not be pronounced until the party or parties requiring the same have given good and sufficient caution and security into the court, that they will not any way break or transgress the said restraint or prohibition."

the opinion of Amesius, that "by adultery the very essence of the contract is directly violated; but, the contract ceasing, the bond depending on the contract necessarily ceases." He appealed to various instances of such re-marriage in the sixteenth century, especially that of the Marquis of Northampton in 1551—without, apparently, feeling the weakness of an appeal to that period of confusion as the standard of right and wrong. Jeremy Taylor, Bishop Hall, and other Anglican divines were opposed to "those of the Church of Rome, whose credit is only saved by those of our Church who agree with them." And, before closing his argument on the ground of domestic expediency, Cosin gave utterance to a passage in which it is difficult to decide whether the Erastianism or the anti-popery thereof is the more distressing:

"It hath also been said that, if the bill pass, it will pass against the Church of England, which I confess I do not understand: for the Church of England is within the Kingdom of England; and, if the laws of this Kingdom be for the bill, and have declared it by the assent of the King, Lords and Commons, as, in the case of the Marquis of Northampton, was heretofore declared in the time of King Edward VI., that by the laws of God the innocent party was at liberty to marry again, certainly the spiritual Lords, as well as the temporal, and Commons, are bound to admit it; and I know not why they should be called the Church of England that join with the Council of Trent and plead so much to uphold it, rather than others that join with all the reformed Churches and plead against that

canon of the Church of Rome, which hath laid an *anathema* upon us, if we do not agree with them."

Learned and orthodox theologians of our own time have agreed with Cosin's contention that re-marriage should not be forbidden to the innocent party to a divorce; but, very probably, if he had been living to-day, he would have supported those who would forbid a re-marriage with the rites of the Church, since a civil marriage is so easily obtainable—a solution of the difficulty which could not then have occurred to him.

Cosin's views on the doctrine of the *Blessed Sacrament* seem to have undergone very considerable modification in the course of time. He had copied into his First Series of Notes, without adverse comment, Hayward's words, of which the late Canon Bright once wrote: "If I had to adopt as a formula any seventeenth-century statement of doctrine on the Holy Eucharist, I think I would take that"[1]:

"It is confessed by all divines, that upon the words of Consecration the Body and Blood of Christ is really and substantially present, and so exhibited and given to all that receive it; and all this not after a physical and sensual, but after a heavenly and invisible and incomprehensible manner: but yet there remains this controversy among some of them, whether the Body of Christ be present only in the use of the Sacrament, and in the act of eating, and not otherwise. They that hold the affirmative, as the Lutherans and all Calvinists do, seem to

[1] *Life of T. T. Carter*, p. 242.

me to depart from all antiquity, which place the Presence of Christ in the virtue of the words of Consecration and benediction used by the priest and not in the use of eating of the Sacrament; for they tell us that the virtue of that Consecration is not lost, though the Sacrament be reserved either for sick persons or other." [1]

But later Cosin repudiated this view entirely: in his Second Series he speaks of the Presence as being limited "to them that are duly prepared to receive them [*i.e.* the Bread and Wine], and in the very act of receiving them" [2]; and he maintains that after the service "though the Bread and Wine remain, yet the Consecration, the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, do not remain longer than the holy action itself remains for which the Bread and Wine were hallowed." [3] But it is naturally to his *History of Transubstantiation* that we must look for a careful expression of his matured opinion on the Reality of the Presence; and to elucidate the position he takes up, a lengthy extract is necessary:

"This whole controversy may be reduced to four heads:—1. Concerning the Signs; 2. Concerning the thing signified; 3. Concerning the union of both; and 4. Concerning their participation. As for the first, the protestants differ from the papists in this, that, according to the nature of sacraments and the doctrine of Holy Scripture, we make the substance of Bread and Wine, and they accidents only, to be signs. In the second, they, not understanding our

[1] *Works*, v. 131. [2] *Ibid.*, v. 345. [3] *Ibid.*, v. 356.

opinion, do misrepresent it: for we do not hold (as they say we do) that only the merits of the death of Christ are represented by the blessed elements, but also that His very Body which was crucified, and His Blood which was shed for us, are truly signified and offered, that our souls may receive and possess Christ as truly and certainly as the material and visible signs are by us seen and received. And so, in the third place, because the thing signified is offered and given to us as truly as the sign itself, in this respect we own the union betwixt the Body and Blood of Christ and the elements, whose use and office we hold to be changed from what it was before. But we deny what the papists affirm, that the substance of Bread and Wine are quite abolished, and changed into the Body and Blood of our Lord, in such sort that the bare accidents of the elements do alone remain united with Christ's Body and Blood. And we also deny that the elements still retain the nature of Sacraments, when not used according to divine institution, that is, given by Christ's ministers and received by His people; so that Christ in the consecrated Bread ought not—cannot be kept and preserved to be carried about, because He is present only to the communicants. As for the fourth and last point, we do not say that in the Lord's Supper we receive only the benefits of Christ's death and passion; but we join the ground with its fruits, that is, Christ with those advantages we receive from Him; affirming with St. Paul, that 'the bread which we break is the communion of the Body of Christ, and the cup which we bless the communion of His Blood,'—of that very substance which He took of the blessed Virgin and afterwards carried into heaven; differing from

those of Rome only in this, that they will have our union with Christ to be corporal, and our eating of Him likewise, and we, on the contrary, maintain it to be indeed as true, but not carnal or natural." [1]

In the same work Cosin insists that—

" faith makes not those things present which are promised; for faith (as it is well known) is more properly said to take and apprehend than to promise or perform; but the word and promise of God, on which faith is grounded (and not faith itself) make that present which is promised." [2]

It is clear, then, that, though he denied " that the Presence and participation of Christ in the Sacrament is effected merely by the power of faith," he held that the Presence is limited to the faithful communicant and to the act of distribution.

On the *Sacrificial Aspect* of the Blessed Sacrament, Cosin had copied into his First Series of Notes Hayward's assertion that " formally and truly it may be called a Sacrifice as well as analogically, in the very natural significance of a sacrifice, for aught I know any harm should come on 't." But in the margin he had written a note qualifying the word " formally ": " Not in strictness and rigour of speech; for so was there never sacrifice, nor never shall be any, but Christ's alone." [3] Where Hayward had

[1] *Works*, iv. 174; the Latin will be found on p. 48.
[2] *Ibid.*, iv. 162; cf. p. 30. [3] *Ibid.*, v. 118.

written, "It is not only an eucharistical, but a propitiatory sacrifice," Cosin appended a further marginal note:

"And to prove it a sacrifice propitiatory, always so acknowledged by the ancient Church, there can be no better argument than that it was offered up, not only for the living but for the dead, and for those that were absent, for them that travelled, for Jews, for heretics, etc., who could have no other benefit of it, but as it was a propitiatory sacrifice: and that thus they did offer it, read a whole army of fathers." [1]

But in this respect, as in most others, Cosin's later views were stated with one eye always on "the Romish doctrine." In his Second Series, after remarking upon the anathema of the Council of Trent, he affirmed that—

"we do not hold this celebration to be . . . so nude a sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, but that by our prayers also added, we offer and present the death of Christ to God, that for His death's sake we may find mercy, in which respect we deny not this commemorative sacrifice to be propitiatory. The receiving of which Sacrament, or participating of which sacrifice exhibited to us, we say is profitable only to them that receive it and participate of it; but the prayers that we add thereunto, in presenting the death and merits of our Saviour to God, is [*sic*] not only beneficial to them that are present, but to them that are absent also, to the dead and living both, to all true members of the Catholic Church of Christ. But

[1] *Works*, v. 120.

a true, real, proper, and propitiatory sacrificing of Christ, *toties quoties* as this Sacrament is celebrated, which is the popish doctrine, and which cannot be done without killing of Christ so often again, we hold not; believing it to be a false and blasphemous doctrine; founding ourselves upon the apostle's doctrine that Christ was sacrificed but once, and that He dieth no more." [1]

Later in the same Series, he wrote:

"The Sacrament of the Eucharist carries the name of a sacrifice, and the table whereon it is celebrated an altar of oblation, in a far higher sense than any of their (*i.e.* the Jews') former services did, which were but the types and figures of those services that are performed in recognition and memory of Christ's own sacrifice, once offered upon the altar of His Cross. The prophecy of Malachy concerning the Church under the New Testament (Mal. i. 10), applied by the doctors of the Roman Church to their proper sacrifice (as they call it) of the mass, is interpreted and applied by the ancient fathers sometimes in general to all the acts of our Christian religion, and sometimes in particular to the Eucharist; that is, the act of our praise and thanksgiving for the sacrifice of Christ once made for us upon the Cross (as here we use it in the Church of England)." [2]

In the days when Cosin first became the special object of Puritanic invective, he was frequently spoken of as "The Seven Sacra-

[1] *Works*, v. 336. This note is to a great extent a translation from Calixtus' *Exercitatio de Sacrificio*, etc.

[2] *Works*, v. 348; cf. pp. 38 f., above.

mentary man," on account of the words which had appeared in his *Devotions*:

"*The Sacraments of the Church.* The principal and truly so-called (as generally necessary to salvation) are Baptism and the Lord's Supper. The other five, that is to say, Confirmation, Penitence, Orders, Matrimony, and Visitation of the Sick or Extreme Unction, though they be sometimes called and have the name of Sacraments, yet have they not the like nature that the two principal and true Sacraments have." [1]

This is a sufficiently cautious statement, one would have thought; but it provoked a great outcry, and Cosin bent so far to the storm as to substitute the following words after "Extreme Unction": "are no true Sacraments instituted by Christ, though they have been by some late authors called by the name of Sacraments and so numbered." Previous to this, at the Conference concerning Mountague's books, Cosin had argued that "in a larger acceptation the Church of England hath been accustomed to call Confirmation and many other rites and ceremonies by the name of Sacraments." [2] And when challenged to show any place to that effect, he had quoted—

"the words of the Act which were prefixed before the Common Prayer Book, where the minister is enjoined to the administration of the Lord's Supper and to each other of the Sacraments, which 'each other' must needs be understood of more than one; and the rubric at the

[1] *Works*, ii. 121. [2] *Ibid.*, ii. 34.

end of the Communion where the words are, that every parishioner (who must be supposed to be baptized already) must communicate thrice in the year and also receive the Sacraments, which Sacraments are some rites that Baptism and the Supper of the Lord is not, for they were named before."

In after-years, however, at the revision of the Prayer Book, he secured the emendation of these words on the ground that—

"occasion is hereby given to think that the Church of England alloweth of more Sacraments than two; but this being contrary both to the Articles of Religion and the Catechism here following, it is requisite that in this place some explanation be made of the word Sacraments." [1]

In copying Hayward's note on *Confirmation*, which began "The nature of this holy Sacrament, for so we need not fear to call it in a right sense . . . ," Cosin seems to have added a note of his own:

"Not that men have no such strength given them in Baptism, but that they have more, and a new strength given them in Confirmation; and indeed the proper effect of Baptism is to make a man a Christian, but the proper effect of Confirmation is to give him the Holy Ghost." [2]

In the Address which he would have added to the Confirmation Service in the Prayer Book, he denied the title "Sacrament" to the ceremony, but he described it as—

[1] *Works*, v. 519. [2] *Ibid.*, v. 145.

"a sacred and solemn act of religion, which being accompanied with fervent prayer, will be a special means to convey the graces of God's Holy Spirit upon those persons that have duly prepared themselves to receive it, that thereby they may be established in their faith and the better fitted to every good word and work." [1]

Of the other sacramental rites, as Cosin, if he were living to-day, would perhaps call them (to mark their sacramental nature while distinguishing them from the two essential Sacraments of the Gospel [2]), he makes a very brief and unconvincing reference to *Extreme Unction*: "If we anoint not now with the oil, it is because we doubt whether it be lawful to continue that extraordinary and miraculous custom, that was well used in St. James's time." [3] On the subject of *Penance* (or Penitence, as he preferred to call it), the treatise written by him in Paris has been lost, but several short passages may be quoted from his writings. In the sermon which he preached at St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, in 1623, at the funeral of Bishop Neile's sister, he referred approvingly to the fact that she had made her Confession and received the benefit of Absolution, "a thing that the world looks not after now, as if Confession and Absolution were some strange superstitious things among us, which yet the Church has taken such care to preserve, and especially to be preparatives for death." [4] And in the Consecration Sermon, of which an abstract has been given in Chapter III, he said: "We

[1] *Works*, v. 526 ff.
[2] Cf. pp. 55 f., above.
[3] *Works*, v. 495.
[4] *Ibid.*, i. 28 f.

have Confession, but few to practise it. . . . It should be otherwise, and our Church intends it otherwise." [1] From Hayward he copied, without comment, the following passage:

"Venial sins, that separate not from the grace of God, need not so much to trouble a man's conscience; if he hath committed any mortal sin, then we require confession of it to a priest, who may give him upon his true contrition and repentance, the benefit of absolution; which takes effect according to his disposition that is absolved . . . in the priest's absolution there is the true power and virtue of forgiveness, which will most certainly take effect, *Nisi ponitur obex*, as in baptism." [2]

In his *Devotions*, under the heading, "Precepts of the Church," he added to the Reception of the Blessed Sacrament: "And for better preparation thereunto, as occasion is, to disburthen and quit our consciences of those sins that may grieve us, or scruples that may trouble us, to a learned and discreet priest, and from him to receive advice and the benefit of absolution"; and he supplied devotional forms for use before and after Absolution. As Archdeacon, he inquired whether the clergy invited their parishioners to Confession, and whether they were ever guilty of breaking the seal of Confession.[3] His speech at Cambridge in defence of Adams, who had taught "the necessity of special confession," has been already quoted.[4]

[1] *Works*, i. 97.
[2] *Ibid.*, v. 164.
[3] *Ibid.*, ii. 11.
[4] See p. 88, above.

It was evidently, in fact, a subject on which he felt strongly; but there is no evidence that he ever used this special means of grace for the benefit of his own soul.

In the first edition of his *Devotions* he had provided a prayer for use after the soul be departed; but he quailed, to some extent, before the resultant outcry and, in the second edition, directed that the prayer should be repeated *until* the soul be departed.[1] But he certainly did not surrender his conviction that *Prayers for the Faithful Departed* are permissible and desirable. In his Second Series of Notes, he claimed that, in the Prayer of Oblation—

"by 'all the whole Church' is to be understood, as well those that have been heretofore, and those that shall be hereafter, as those that are now the present members of it. And by 'all other benefits of His Passion' is intended no less the victory that we shall all have over death and sin at the last day, that is, the resurrection of our bodies from the grave and the public acquittal which will then be given us from all our sins (when Christ shall pronounce His final sentence and say, 'Come, ye blessed," etc.), than the remission of sins past to be now given us. So that the virtue of this sacrifice (which is here in this Prayer of Oblation commemorated and represented) doth not only extend itself to the living and those that are present, but likewise to them that are absent and them that be already departed, or shall in time to come live and die in the faith of Christ."[2]

[1] See p. 57, above. [2] *Works*, v. 351 f.

He maintained, of course, that the Collect in the Burial Office, "Almighty God, with Whom do live," etc., "relateth to them that are dead in the faith of Christ, as well as to ourselves that make profession of it here in this life." But such prayers are—

"fondly applied by the new Roman Catholics to the fetching out of men's souls from their feigned pains of purgatory. . . . Although therefore it cannot be exactly and distinctly declared what benefit the dead receive by these prayers which the living make for them; yet if there be nothing else, there is this at least in it, that hereby is declared the communion and conjunction which we have still one with another, as members of the same body whereof Christ is the head. . . . Whatsoever the effect and fruit of this prayer will be, though it be uncertain, yet hereby we show that charity which we owe to all those that are fellow-servants with us to Christ; and in this regard our prayer cannot be condemned, being neither impious nor unfit for them. For in like manner, if I should make a prayer to God for my father or mother . . . who were travelling in a journey, beseeching Him that He would prosper them in their way . . . although at the same time when I pray thus for them, peradventure they be arrived at that place already (which I knew not) with all safety . . . whereby all my prayer is prevented, yet the solicitude and charity, in the meanwhile, that I had for them cannot be justly or charitably reprehended by any others." [1]

And here he added a reference to his note on

[1] *Works*, v. 373–7.

the words in the Litany, "In the day of Judgment":

"This petition and prayer referreth to us after we are dead, and supposeth that, being dead, we are still capable of God's mercy and favour when the last day of the general judgment shall come. . . . It is a part, therefore, of the piety and religion of the Church of England (as it hath been likewise of the universal Church of Christ heretofore) to pray for mercy after death, and not to doubt (for otherwise we may be sure she would never set us to pray and petition here for it) but that such as are dead in Christ and in the Catholic communion of His Church, be capable of it. Nor can we conceive a more probable interpretation of these words, than that there is mercy and favour to be found in the day of Judgment." [1]

That he hoped for the prayers of posterity for himself is evident from the direction in his Will, that on his tombstone there should be engraved the words, *Requiescat in pace*.

To the now extinct Sabbatarian controversy Cosin devoted a good deal of attention; but the subject is not now of sufficient interest to demand more than a passing reference.[2] But the *Royal Supremacy* is a topic on which even well-instructed Churchmen are not always quite clear in their minds. A few years ago a society called the Churchmen's Union addressed

[1] *Works*, v. 241 ff.

[2] The curious may be referred to *Works*, iv. 451 ff., 462; i. 159, 171, 186 ff.

the following words to Queen Victoria: "We view with deep regret the attacks which have been levelled against the Archbishops and Bishops of the Church of England, and through them upon your Most Gracious Majesty, as Defender of the Faith, and Head of our National Church." For denying to the Crown this title, "Head of the Church," Cosin had got into hot water in Charles I.'s reign, but had successfully vindicated himself. His words are so entirely to the point that they are worth repeating:

"The laws say it not; the canons say it not; our best writers say it not (at least in the sense wherein he [Mr. Pleasans] urged it); Queen Elizabeth refused it; our Kings since her time liked it not; the Oath of Supremacy itself expresses it not; in my judgment it is unfit for us private men to set forth any other title of the King but what he himself or his state has ordained; the style is the more misliked (howsoever in a general sense it may be well enough interpreted) because the pope's flatterers have given it unto him and because it doth most properly belong unto Christ, Who is the only Head of His Church precisely taken, which is but one Body itself and so not capable of many heads; and, lastly, they do but cause themselves either to be pitied or contemned whosoever do affirm that we give power of administering the Sacraments or excommunication unto princes themselves; whom nevertheless we acknowledge (and this I shall be as ready to maintain as any man) to be supreme governors both of Church and State; and by this power of supreme dominion they may command Churchmen at any

time to do their office, or punish them for their neglect of it." [1]

Elsewhere he wrote: "The secular arm does not herein give, but cherish, the power of the Church in the bosom of the Kingdom." [2]

In view of the ignoble and secular reasons sometimes advanced for the lesser commemorations in our English Kalendar, Cosin's explanation, in his *Devotions*, of the "Special Use of the Kalendar in the Church of God" has a peculiar value, as the opinion of the divine who had decidedly the greatest influence when that part of the Book of Common Prayer was undergoing revision:

"The Kalendar of the Church is as full of benefit as of delight, unto such as are given to the due study and contemplation thereof. For, besides the admirable order and disposition of times, which are necessary for the better transacting of all ecclesiastical and secular affairs, it hath in it a very beautiful distinction of the days and seasons, whereof some are chosen out and sanctified, and others are put among the days of the week to number (Ecclus. xxxiii. 7). But the chief use of it in the Church (saith St. Austin) is to preserve a solemn memory, and to continue in their due time, sometimes a weekly, and sometimes an annual commemoration of those excellent and high benefits, which God,

[1] *Works*, iv. 371 f. The words have been changed from the *Oratio Obliqua* to the *Oratio Recta*.

[2] *Ibid.*, v. 413. It is satisfactory to know that the painfully Erastian queries printed in *Works*, iv. 384, were not penned by Cosin. Cf. Surtees Society, *Miscellanea*, p. 93.

both by Himself, His Son, and His Blessed Spirit, One Undivided Trinity, hath bestowed upon mankind, for the founding and propagating of that Christian Faith and Religion which we now profess. And this Faith of ours, being no other than the very same wherein the Holy Angels are set to succour us, and which the glorious company of the Apostles, the noble army of Martyrs, and the goodly fellowship of other God's Saints and servants, men famous in their generations before us, have, some maintained with the sanctity of their lives, and some sealed with the innocency of their deaths ; it is for this cause that the names of these holy and heavenly Saints are still preserved in the Kalendar of the Church, there to remain upon record and register (as of old time they did), where they might also stand as sacred memorials of God's mercy towards us, as forcible witnesses of His ancient truth, as confirmations of the Faith which we now profess to be the same that theirs then was, as provocations to the piety which they then practised, and as everlasting records to show Whose blessed servants they were on earth, that are now like the Angels of God in heaven. Howbeit, forasmuch as, in process of time, the multitude of men and women reputed holy in this kind became so exceeding numerous, that all the days of the year would not have been sufficient for a several commemoration of them ; it was the great wisdom and moderation of those religious grave prelates, by whom God (of His especial blessing to our Church above others) did reform such things as were many ways remiss here among us, to choose one solemn day alone, wherein to magnify God for the generality of All His Saints together ; and to retain some few selected days in every month for the special

memory of others, both holy Persons and holy Actions, which they observed not our people alone, but the universal Church of Christ also, to be most affected unto and best acquainted withal: hereby avoiding only the burden and the unnecessary number of festival days, not disallowing the multitude of God's true Martyrs and Saints, whose memorials we are to solemnize howsoever in the general Festival of All Saints' Day, as by the Proper Lessons, the Collect, Epistle, and Gospel, then appointed in our public Liturgy, doth most evidently appear." [1]

The lengthy extracts by which Cosin's doctrinal and ecclesiastical standpoint has been, it is hoped, established, have already, perhaps, wearied the reader; but it would be unfair to his memory to omit entirely the beautiful expression of Faith, Hope, and Charity prefixed to his Will. After a declaration of his acceptance of the great central truths of the Christian Faith and a repudiation of all heresy and schism, he added:

"But in what part of the world soever any Churches are extant bearing the name of Christ and professing the true Catholic Faith and religion, worshipping and calling upon God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, with one heart and voice, if any where I be now hindered actually to be joined with them, either by distance of countries or variance among men or by any other let whatsoever, yet always in my mind and affection I join and unite with them; which I desire to be chiefly understood of protestants and the best reformed Churches: for,

[1] *Works*, ii. 95 f.

where the foundations are safe, we may allow and therefore most friendly, quietly, and peaceably suffer in those Churches where we have not authority, a diversity, as of opinion, so of ceremonies, about things which do but adhere to the foundations and are neither necessary or repugnant to the practice of the universal Church. As for all them, who through evil counsel have any way inveighed against, or calumniated me, and even yet do not forbear their invectives, I freely pardon them, and earnestly pray to God that He also would be pleased to forgive them and inspire them with a better mind. In the meanwhile I take it to be my duty, and of all my brethren, especially the Bishops and Ministers of the Church of God, to do our utmost endeavours, according to the measure of grace which is given to every one of us, that at last an end may be put to the differences of religion, or at least that they may be lessened, and that we may 'follow peace with all men and holiness'; which, that it may be accomplished very speedily, God 'the Author of peace and concord' grant: Whose infinite mercy I humbly beseech, that He would cleanse me, who was conceived in sin and iniquity, from every spot and corruption of human frailty; and that through His great clemency He would make me, who am unworthy, to become worthy, and that He would apply to me the passion and infinite merits of His most beloved Son, Jesus Christ our Lord, to the expiating of all mine offences; that at the last hour of my life, which I daily look for, I may be carried by His holy Angels into Abraham's bosom, and, being placed in the fellowship of His saints and elect, may fully enjoy eternal felicity." [1]

[1] *Works*, Iv. 526 ff.

The views neither of Cosin, nor of any other Caroline divine, are in any degree binding on the Church of the twentieth century; but they have the value which appertains to a most critical period in ecclesiastical history—the period when English Churchmen were completing their Reformation by saving what was Catholic, after the Tudor Reformers had sloughed what was merely Roman.

Of the difficulties which faced the leaders at the Restoration, something has already been said; and that they failed entirely to avert a most calamitous schism has been frankly admitted. But that failure was, probably, inevitable; and the astounding fact is, that the Restoration Church met with such success as it obviously did. During the interregnum religion had been made ridiculous, and had come to be regarded by many as synonymous with hypocrisy; whilst, under Charles II., an example of unblushing profligacy had been set by the Court. The clergy, too, suffered disastrously in prestige; for, whilst the best of the Puritan divines had refused to conform, hundreds, who were, at heart, entirely out of sympathy with the Church's doctrine and discipline, continued to minister to congregations, who despised them for preaching truths which they had previously decried. And yet, in spite of all these disadvantages, in spite, too, of the energy with which the influence of the Crown, under James II., was exerted against the English Church, Kettlewell, a thoroughly reliable witness, writing of that reign, was able to affirm:

"The number of converts made in the reign of this King to his religion was mostly inconsiderable, if it could be said to be any at all. On the other hand, for certain, great numbers of Dissenters were brought into the communion of the Church by the writings of the orthodox clergy. It was remarked as a proof of the flourishing state of the Church, that the rites and ceremonies were better observed, the churches full, the Communions more frequent."

It may, indeed, be claimed, with very little hesitation, that, if the Non-juring schism, the suppression of Convocation, and the system of political appointments to the episcopate, had not intervened, there would have been no necessity for the Oxford Movement. Throughout the torpor of the eighteenth century, due to those misfortunes, the best men, such as Bishop Wilson and the Wesleys, looked back to the Caroline divines for inspiration and for devotional encouragement. The pre-Tractarian High Churchmen, such as Sikes and Stevens, regarded the theology of those same divines as their criterion. Wordsworth's tribute in the preface to the *Ecclesiastical Sonnets*, in special, is worth recalling :

"Let me observe that the opinion I pronounced in favour of Laud (long before the Oxford Tract movement) and which had brought censure upon me from several quarters, is not in the least changed. Omitting here to examine into his conduct in respect to the persecuting spirit with which he has been charged, I am persuaded that most of his aims to restore

ritual practices which had been abandoned were good and wise, whatever errors he might commit in the manner he sometimes attempted to enforce them. I further believe that, had not he, and others who shared his opinions and felt as he did, stood up in opposition to the reformers of that period, it is questionable whether the Church would ever have recovered its lost ground and become the blessing it now is, and will, I trust, become in a still greater degree, both to those of its communion and to those who unfortunately are separated from it."

The Tractarians themselves appealed incessantly to the Church of the seventeenth century; and the publication of the Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology is a sufficient testimony to the value attached by their followers to the writings of the Caroline divines.[1] And even to-day, when there is something like a reaction against "Carolinism," reference is constantly made to the opinions and practices of the ecclesiastical leaders of the seventeenth century; and, of all the names thus appealed to, none recurs more frequently than that of Cosin, whose life, and work, and friendships linked Andrewes, Overall, Mountague, and Laud with Pearson, Sparrow, Brevint, and Sancroft—the earlier with the later group of that Caroline school of divines which was "the wonder of the world" and by its learning and devotion saved the Catholicity of the English Church. It is, in

[1] Previous to the publication of Cosin's work in the Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology, an edition of his *Hist. of Transubstantiation* (ed. by Brewer) was issued in 1840, and the eleventh edition of his *Devotions* in 1838.

fact, from Cosin and his friends that the Church of England inherits her position of unrivalled opportunity for advancing the reunion of Christendom—standing firmly, as she does, on the solid foundation of the Bible and antiquity, with her arms, not folded in self-complacent isolation, but outstretched to their widest reach, not wholly out of touch either with Rome on the one hand, or with the non-episcopal Protestant bodies on the other, and with a cordial welcome for any friendly overtures made by the Orthodox Churches of the East.

APPENDIX A

(See p. 85)

COSIN'S REVISED ORDINANCE FOR THE COMMEMORATION OF BENEFACTORS (PRINTED IN DR. WALKER'S *HISTORY OF PETERHOUSE*)

Quia Benefactorum nostrorum Memoriam recolere, et vicem eis modo quo possimus respondere tanquam filii Gratitudinis astringimur: Nos Johannes Cosin Magister; et Socii, hujus Collegii decernimus et ordinamus, quod perpetuis futuris temporibus, ad finem uniuscujusque Termini, quotannis Illorum Commemoratio fiat in Sacello [sicut etiam in Statutis Academiae ordinatum est] in hunc modum: In Singulis Collegiis Primo die post cujusque Termini finem, etc.

After ye Psalmody ended ye Minister says:

The Memory of ye Righteous shall continue for evermore.

Resp.

And shall not be afraid for any evil report.

Min.

The Lord be with you.

Resp.

And with thy Spirit.

Let us pray:

O Lord, we glorifie Thee in these Thy servants our Benefactors departed out of this present Life, beseech-

ing Thee that, as they for their time bestowed Charitably for our Comfort ye temporal things which Thou didst give Them : so We for our time may fruitfully use ye same to ye setting forth of Thy Most Holy Word, Thy Laud and Praise. And finally that both They and We may reign with Thee in Glory, Through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

The Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and ye Love of God, and ye Fellowship of ye Holy Ghost be with us all evermore.

Later Cosin's name was added to the Benefactors commemorated in the following terms :

A.D. 1669 (37) Reverendus in Christo Pater et Dominus *Johannes Episcopus Dunelmensis* hujus Collegii Expræfectus, qui post præclaram operam instaurando Collegio datam, sumptusque nobiles in Sacello ornando, et instruenda Bibliotheca factos Collegium nuper donavit annuo reditu quinquaginta et octo Librarum ad subsidium quinque Bibliotistorum, quos nuncupari voluit Scholares sive Bibliotistos Episcopi Dunelmensis ; Ita tamen ut ex dicta summa sex libræ quotannis sumantur in solenni Commemoratione hujus Donationis ; Atque duo in Cista Communi reponendæ cedant Collegio.

APPENDIX B

(See p. 115)

A FORM OF PRAYER USED IN THE KING'S CHAPEL IN PARIS, UPON TUESDAYS [THE DAY OF THE WEEK ON WHICH CHARLES I. WAS BEHEADED] IN THESE TIMES OF TROUBLE AND DISTRESS, DRAWN UP BY DR. COSIN. MDCXLIX.

At Matins and Evensong

"Enter not," etc., to the *Venite*, instead of which Ps. cxxi.

Antiphon: "Preserve the King, O God, for in Thee hath he put his trust."

Proper Pss.:—iii., xvii., xlii., xliii., lx.

1st Lesson:—Gen. xxviii. 10 (Matins).
2 Chron. xx. 1–21 (Evensong).

Ps. cxxx. (instead of *Te Deum* or *Magnificat*).

2nd Lesson:—Luke xxi. 1–38 (Matins).
1 Peter ii. (Evensong).

Ps. cxxiii. (instead of *Benedictus* or *Nunc Dimittis*).

Creed, etc.

1st Collect:—"Lord, we beseech Thee, let Thy continual pity," etc. (*Matins*).
"Lord, raise up, we pray Thee, Thy power," etc. (*Evensong*).

After Matins, the Litany, at which before the Prayer of St. Chrysostom:

℣. O Lord, guard the Person of Thy servant, Charles our King.

℟. Who putteth his trust in Thee.

℣. Send him, and all that are loyal to him, help from Thy holy place.

℟. And evermore mightily defend them.

℣. Confound the designs of all that rise up or conspire against him.

℟. And let no wicked hand come near to hurt him.

℣. O Lord, hear our prayer.

℟. And let our cry come unto Thee.

Minister.

Almighty Lord God, the Ruler of Princes when they are on their thrones and their Protector when they are in peril; Look down mercifully from heaven, we most humbly beseech Thee, upon the many and great troubles of our gracious sovereign. Defend his Person from all dangers, both by sea and land. Bless his Counsels. Prosper his Enterprises. And command Thy Angels so to pitch their tents round about him, that he may be preserved from the hands of all that seek his hurt, and may be speedily established in the just rights of his throne, through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

At Evensong, the above to be interposed between the Third Collect and the Prayer of St. Chrysostom.

At the Second Service

After the Commandments:

Deliver the King, O Lord, from the Evil Man: and preserve him from the Wicked Doers, which imagine mischief in their hearts.

Reward them according to their deeds. etc. [as in Ps. xxviii. 4 to end].

Let us pray.

O God of all might and wisdom, by Whom alone Kings reign and people are made obedient unto them; We humbly beseech Thee to defend Thine own ordinance in the defence of our distressed King; that as Thou hast given him a most just title to his father's kingdoms, so Thou wouldst be pleased speedily to bring him unto the rightful possession of them. And to that end, that Thou wouldst vouchsafe to put the spirit of counsel, of courage, and of unity, upon them that are loyal to him. And for those that either openly oppose him, or those strange children that dissemble with him, that Thou wouldst infatuate their counsels and blast their endeavours, turning their hearts both to Thee their God and to the King; which we beseech Thee to grant for Jesus Christ His sake, our Lord and only Saviour. *Amen.*

The Epistle: 1 Tim. ii. 1–9.

The Gospel: St. Mark x. 28–32.

Creed, etc.

After Church Militant Prayer:

Grant, merciful Lord, Thy protection and Thy blessing to our gracious King: that in all his ways he may be defended from all kinds of perils, and may so prosper in his endeavours, that all his people may, by the might of Thy hand, be brought to obedience under him, to serve and honour Thee, through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

The Blessing.

Here follow, in Cosin's handwriting, various Versicles and Collects, but it is not quite clear how they were intended to be used.

Canon Ornsby printed (*Corr.* i. 302), "Alterations in Cosin's handwriting, in the margin of the first page of a Copy of the Form of Prayer used in King Charles II.'s

Chapel at the Hague" (1650). In this office, none of the Psalms or Lessons are as above, and the first Collect is as follows:

Almighty and Everlasting God, Which didst give such grace to Thine anointed, our late dread Sovereign, that in his life and death he confessed, and showed forth Thy Truth in his humble and patient suffering, for the constant profession thereof, and Who hast knit together Thine elect in one communion and fellowship in the mystical Body of Thy Son Christ our Lord: Grant us also grace so to follow him and all other Thy Saints, that we may come to those unspeakable joys which Thou hast prepared for them that unfeignedly love Thee; through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

APPENDIX C

(See p. 193)

THE FORM OF RECONCILING A CHURCH, CHAPEL, OR CHURCHYARD, WHICH HATH BEEN FORMERLY PROFANED, OR CONVERTED TO OTHER COMMON AND SECULAR USES [1]

The Bishop, upon the petition of them whom it may concern, and the place being duly prepared according to his advice and prescription, shall either by himself or some other whom he shall depute hereunto, repair unto the same place and there make these prayers following.

Our help standeth in the Name of the Lord.

Answer. Who hath made heaven and earth.

Let us pray.

Our Father, etc.

We do here humbly, O Lord, present ourselves before Thy Divine Majesty, beseeching Thee not to remember our offences, nor the offences of our forefathers, who have polluted this Thy sanctuary and defiled the dwelling-place of Thy Name, but to be reconciled unto us, and to accept this our bounden duty of reconciling this house unto Thee and unto Thy service, that being now purged and separated from all profane uses, it may remain an holy house for ever dedicated to sacred uses, for prayers, supplications, and intercessions to be therein made for all men, and especially for those that are of the household of the faith, and for the praise and

[1] *Corr.* ii. 194.

He claimed that latterly he had increased the annual value of the See by £1,340, thus :

(*a*) By procuring, after the death of the Queen-mother in 1669, in compensation for the loss of various feudal rights, the release of a pension of £880, which had been paid by the See to the Crown since Elizabeth's reign ; and

(*b*) By the improvement of the demesne and the skilful manipulation of leases, £460.

" Towards the discharge of his household expenses and hospitality in his Bishopric " he had allotted the following receipts :

Royalties	£200
Rent of Demesne Lands . . .	500
„ „ Durham House and the New Exchange in London .	240
„ „ Howdenshire . . .	400
„ „ Allertonshire . . .	235
Total .	£1,575

So that, during the last few years of his episcopate, a sum of £2,915 was available, " wherewith the Bishop must maintain his numerous family, pay to servants their wages, give public entertainments at the Assizes and Sessions, bear the charges of many suits-at-law, and of going to and from the Parliament."

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